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## THE EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND IN HISTORY AND LITERATURE

By A. A. VASILIEV

Many years ago, in the summer of 1889 to be exact, when I was a student at the University of St. Petersburg in Russia, on my way from the Caucasus to Constantinople I visited Trebizond, a second-rate maritime city in Turkey. At that time I did not know that Trebizond was to become, long after, a special subject of mine. But from my very youth—it is hard to say why—the lure of Trebizond has been strong to my imagination, and I have learned that I am not the only one to fall under its charm. To Fallmerayer, a German historian and philologist who over a century ago wrote the first scholarly history of the Empire of Trebizond, Trebizond “with its soft and melodious name” was “a country of dreams from his early youth.” And in sober fact the panorama of Trebizond, set among eternally verdant mountains, seen from shipboard is almost unforgettable.

In the fourteenth century Trebizond had its own chronicler, Michael Panaretos, whose palace *Chronicle*, a drab but reliable narrative, has revealed many facts otherwise unknown and enabled us for the first time to bring order into the history of the Empire of Trebizond. Panaretos' contemporary also, Andreas Libadenos, although born in Constantinople, held ecclesiastical office in Trebizond, and has left an interesting description of the city and of some events connected with its history. In the fifteenth century two Spanish travellers, Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo and Pero Tafur, visited Trebizond, and they have given us an extremely important picture of the city and the general situation of the petty Empire. Trebizond inspired writers even during the fatal period when it was nearing final collapse in the fifteenth century, when Bessarion of Nicaea and John (Joannes) Eugenikos wrote their famous *Encomia* of Trebizond.

In this study I do not intend to deal with the sources for the Empire of Trebizond, but I wish to survey what has been written on the subject beginning with the seventeenth century, when in 1600 Athanasius made the first attempt, as far as I know, at a history of Trebizond. In this respect the long process of the development of our knowledge of the Empire may be divided into two unequal periods, minor and major, before and after the discovery by Fallmerayer of Michael Panaretos' Trapezuntine Chronicle as late as the 'twenties of the nineteenth century. Before that time the history of the Empire was veiled in obscurity; after it a bright light pierced the darkness. For the first

time we were enabled to write a new history of the Empire of Trebizond; it is undoubtedly still incomplete, with many gaps to be filled in, but if we compare our material of today, based on epigraphical and archaeological evidence, with that available before Fallmerayer's discovery, we conclude that we have a solid foundation on which to work.

Panaretos' significance for the history of the Empire of Trebizond always suggests to me Mommsen's words concerning the famous Greek historian Polybius. "His books," wrote Mommsen, "are in Roman history like the sun; at the point where they begin, the mist which still envelops the Samnite and Pyrrhic wars is raised; and at the point where they end, a new, and if possible, still more vexatious twilight begins."<sup>1</sup> Of course Panaretos is no Polybius; Panaretos was a drab, dry, but valuable chronicler, Polybius a first rate historian. But with due reservations we may say that Panaretos' chronicle is also "like the sun" in Trapezuntine history, or perhaps better, like the dawn of a sunny day.

In my study of works on the Empire of Trebizond I do not intend to list or discuss all historical works of general character in which the Empire is mentioned; this task would be both impossible and useless. I shall concentrate my chief attention on special studies on the history of the Empire. It will also, I believe, be of value to note many references to Trebizond in purely literary works without historical pretension in which Trebizond has quite lost historical reality and has become a fairy tale country, a land beyond time and space. But, although G. Finlay wrote that "the grandeur of the Empire of Trebizond exists only in romance,"<sup>2</sup> and much later W. Miller said that "the medieval Empire of Trebizond is one of the curiosities of history,"<sup>3</sup> this Empire was a vivid, real, and complicated political organism. True, politically the Empire was weak and loose. But the causes of its political weakness were very interesting. I am far from idealizing the history of the Empire.<sup>4</sup> But I must stress the fact that

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *History of Rome*, III, 468.

<sup>2</sup> G. Finlay, *A History of Greece*, ed. Tozer, IV. *Mediaeval Greece and the Empire of Trebizond* (Oxford, 1877), 308.

<sup>3</sup> W. Miller, *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Many historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been accused of excessive idealization of the history of the Byzantine Empire. See M. V. Levchenko, *A History of Byzantium* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1940), p. 6: Diehl and other bourgeois byzantinists have excessively idealized the historical role of Byzantium. . . . The idealization of Byzantium by bourgeois historians is shown by the fact that they omit to mention the reverse of the medal—Byzantium as a stronghold of despotism, the church, a perfect mechanism for the exploitation of the working masses (in Russian). The author of this book, Levchenko, is a Marxist.

the declining Empire was not a dead body, was not a mummy preserved in a casket. Internally there was a long and stubborn struggle between the ruling class and the masses of people trampled down by abuse and taxation. Externally the economic and cultural significance of the Empire, not only for its own sake but also as an essential factor in the history of the economic and cultural relations between East and West in the Middle Ages, contributes to its history a fascinating interest and unusual freshness. The Empire had also very great importance in the history of Christianity in general and in its struggle against Islam in particular, a struggle intensified late in the Middle Ages when Islam received new strength from the Ottoman Turks.

I shall begin my survey with the year 1600. In this year Athanasius, surnamed *Δαιμονοκαταλύτης*, metropolitan of Trebizond, compiled a description of the famous monastery of Soumela (Sumela), near and south of Trebizond. The monastery's original foundation, in the shape of a small sanctuary, according to legend goes back to the end of the fourth century or at least to the epoch of Justinian; and this "conspicuous landmark of Trapezuntine history"<sup>5</sup> was so indissolubly connected with the political and religious history of Trebizond that Athanasius' description may be regarded as the first, and of course very rudimentary, attempt at a history of the Empire of Trebizond. During the existence of the Empire the monastery of Soumela was the largest in the region and "at one time it boasted a prosperity and importance as great as, if not greater than, that of some of the mighty foundations of Mount Athos."<sup>6</sup> As far as I know, Athanasius' *Description of the Monastery of Soumela* has not been published.<sup>7</sup> But it was used by the archimandrite of the monastery, Parthenios Metaxopoulos, who in 1775 at Leipzig published in Greek a brief history of the monastery and of the Empire of Trebizond, of which we shall speak later in detail. From the references to Athanasius' compilation given in Metaxopoulos' book we conclude that Athanasius covered the history of Trebizond from the earlier Christian time, at least from the fourth century A. D., down to the later years of the Empire, probably to its fall in 1461.

In 1897 A. Papadopoulos—Kerameus published his important col-

<sup>5</sup> W. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> D. T. Rice, *Notes on some Religious Buildings in the City and Vilayet of Trebizond, Byzantion*, V (1929), 73. G. Millet and D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting at Trebizond* (London, 1936), pp. 144-150 (The Monastery of Sumela). A special study on the Monastery of Soumela 'Ε. Θ. Κυριακίδης, 'Ιστορία της παρά την Τραπεζούντα . . . μονής . . . της Σουμελά. 'Εν 'Αθήναις, 1898.

<sup>7</sup> See Σπ. Δάμπρος, *Θεωνᾶς ἀγνωστος χρονογράφος τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας τῆς Τραπεζούντος*. Νέος Ἑλληνομνημῶν, I (1904), 200-201.

lection of sources on the history of the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>8</sup> As the third document, he printed a homily by Joseph, metropolitan of Trebizond, who lived in the fourteenth century, on the subject of St. Eugenios, the special champion of Trebizond. In this homily Joseph writes that under the Emperor Basil the Macedonian (867-886) the Archbishop in Trebizond was Athanasius ὁ Δαιμονοκαταλύτης.<sup>9</sup> This statement would indicate that Athanasius lived seven hundred years earlier than 1600, when he supposedly compiled his historical sketch. Papadopoulos-Kerameus states in his preface that his texts reveal a blunder accepted by later writers, *i. e.*, that Athanasius lived in 1600; in reality, says Papadopoulos-Kerameus, he lived in the ninth century under Basil I the Macedonian.<sup>10</sup> But this conclusion can not be sustained. Metaxopoulos' book to which I have referred quotes from Athanasius Daimonokalytes' compilation on events of the thirteenth century;<sup>11</sup> so that it is impossible to ascribe Athanasius to the ninth century. In a recent book in Modern Greek on the Church of Trebizond published in 1933 by the Metropolitan of Trebizond, Chrysanthos, we find two persons named Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Δαιμονοκαταλύτης, of whom one was Metropolitan of Trebizond under the Emperor Basil the Macedonian (867-886) and the other lived in the year 1600.<sup>12</sup> We may be sure that our Athanasius Daimonokalytes lived in 1600 and was the author of a description of the monastery of Soumela which contained the first brief and rudimentary sketch of the history of the Empire of Trebizond. The sketch was never published and of course has now no historical value whatever.

The French King Henry IV (1589-1610) in 1603 appointed Jean de Gontaut Biron, Baron de Salignac, ambassador to Turkey at the court of the Sultan Ahmad (Ahmed) I (1603-1617). The Baron left France in July 1604 for Constantinople, where he stayed till his death in 1610. Julien Bordier, of Perigord in France, his esquire (écuyer) accompanied him to Constantinople, visited the Christian Orient and the Crimea, and wrote an account of his travels. After the ambassador's death in 1610, Bordier returned to Perigord; later he set out again to the Levant and finished his writing at Aleppo in 1626. Thereafter we lose sight of him.

<sup>8</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes historiae imperii Trapezuntini*, I, St. Petersburg (1897).

<sup>9</sup> *Idem*, p. 53.

<sup>10</sup> *Idem*, pp. xiv-xv.

<sup>11</sup> Μεταξόπουλος, p. 60, note. The complete title of this book will be given later.

<sup>12</sup> Χρυσάνθου Μητροπολίτου Τραπεζοῦντος, Ἡ ἐκκλησία Τραπεζοῦντος. Ἀρχαῖον Πόντου, IV-V (Athens, 1933), 152 and 787. A separate edition of this book is dated Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1936. The author of this book is now archbishop of Athens.

The first part of his relation, which was published some time ago, is foreign to our purposes; it stops with the arrival of the travellers at Constantinople.<sup>13</sup> He earnestly desired at that time to visit Trebizond. He wrote, "During all my winter walks I always had the wish in my soul, in the approaching spring to go to Trebizond."<sup>14</sup>

In 1935 the Metropolitan of Trebizond, Chrysanthos, published for the first time, as he says, the fifth book of Bordier's relation, containing descriptions of Bithynia, Amastris, Sinope, Trebizond, Cappadocia, Galatia, Georgia or Iberia, Mingrelia (Mangrelie) or Colchis, and Erzerum.<sup>15</sup> Chapters 5 and 6 are devoted to Trebizond: the former tells of Bordier's sojourn in Trebizond and gives a very interesting description of the city, entitled "*On the imperial and free city of Trebizond*" (De l'Imperialle et France cité de Trebizonde).<sup>16</sup> In this chapter Bordier gives a very brief survey of the history of the Empire of Trebizond filled with all sorts of blunders. We read:

For many centuries the Trapezuntines had maintained themselves in their principality till the arrival in this place of Isaac Comnenus, who was one of the descendants of the Comneni, usurpers of the Empire of Constantinople, who took refuge at Trebizond in order to avoid the mutiny and indignation of the Constantinopolitans who had killed his father for his iniquity. Isaac Comnenus was welcomed and well received by the Trapezuntines, because he took issue from the race of the Emperors, and either they needed a prince to govern their State or Principality, or for some other reason. They received him, agreeing to proclaim him emperor and bestow upon him the imperial title in order not to diminish that of his ancestors; since the emperors of Trebizond possessed that title, till the capture of that city by Muhammed (Mahomet) II, which took place in the year of Our Lord 1457, four years after the capture of Constantinople which put an end to that Empire with its Emperors. The Emperor at that time was named Caloian. He was brought, along with some Christian princes as prisoners, to Constantinople, where Muhammed, who would not tolerate such companions, had them killed iniquitously in order to reign more safely.<sup>17</sup>

Bordier's brief sketch contains several factual errors. The name

<sup>13</sup> Julien Bordier, *Ambassade en Turquie de Jean de Gontaut Biron, Baron de Salignac*. 1605-1610. *Voyage à Constantinople. Séjour en Turquie. Relation inédite précédée de la vie du baron de Salignac par le comte Théodore de Gontaut Biron*. Paris, 1888 (*Archives historiques de la Gascogne*, fasc. 16-e). For Salignac and Bordier's biographies, see pp. iii-iv; 97, 101, 151.

<sup>14</sup> J. Bordier, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>15</sup> Chrysanthos, *Μητροπολίτης Τραπεζούντος, Relation d'un voyage en Orient par Julien Bordier, écuyer de Jean Gontaut, Baron de Salignac, ambassadeur à Constantinople* (1604-1612). Livre V-e, 'Αρχαίον Πόλεως, VI (1935), 86-158. The text was published after MS. B. N., Fonds ancien St. Germain français 18076.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 5, pp. 117-129; ch. 6, pp. 129-135.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

of the Comnenus who escaped to Trebizond and founded the Empire was not Isaac Comnenus but Alexius (with his brother David). The father whose assassination is mentioned was Manuel, who perished in Constantinople in the catastrophe of the dynastic revolution of 1185. In the eyes of Bordier the Comneni were usurpers of the Constantinopolitan throne, but this to a certain extent may be said of any new dynasty which successfully overthrows a previous one. The Turks conquered the Empire of Trebizond, not in 1457, but in 1461. The last Emperor, who was brought to Constantinople and killed there in 1463, was David, not Caloian or John IV, his predecessor, who was called "Kalojoannes" because of his handsome appearance.

In 1616 an English book by Thomas Gainsford appeared. The title of this rare book is as follows: *The Historie of Trebizond, in foure bookes*. By Tho. Gainsforde Esquier. At London, 1616, pp. 360. This compilation of 360 pages containing four books in one volume is quoted as a work dealing with the history of Trebizond in U. Chevalier, *Topobibliographie* (Montbeliard, 1894-1903), p. 3153, and is also mentioned in some encyclopedias under "Trebizond," for instance in *the Catholic Encyclopaedia*, XV, 28-29 (article compiled by S. Vailhé) and in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, LXIV (Bilbao-Madrid-Barcelona), 10 (under "Trabizon"). I doubt if these authors ever saw the book; if they had they probably would not have mentioned it in a bibliography on the history of Trebizond. Its title is entirely misleading. It is a mere collection of fantastic stories which supposedly refer to the Near East, and it has no historical significance whatever. I will give some examples. On pp. 86-87 we read: "After *Samarchanus* (most mighty Duke) sonne of *Rhecus* sonne of *Demorgus*, the ancient Inhabiter of the Caves of *Sarmatia*, had reduced his people to a civilitie by his discipline and with the example of valour countenanced their courage; hee attempted the Empire of *Terbizonda*, and preferred for prevailing, so relied on their obedience and loialties, that *Colchides*, *Pontus*, *Iberia*, and *Capadocia* were also subjected, with which renowned." On pp. 307-308: "The Prince setteth forward toward *Trebizonda*, but understanding the Court was kept in *Samarchanda*, a rich and populous Cittie, hee studied how to make his entrance." P. 333: "Heere a wonderfull clamour seemed to threaten heaven with the noise, by which the *Trebyzondians* had warning of their enemies ill meaning toward them." P. 339: "No sooner was the *Trebizondian* Armie dissolved, but *T'rezoboro* sollemly proclaimed the Prince of peace, as well to ccelebrate their late quietnesse."

To sum up, Gainsford's book is a collection of imaginary stories which made their appearance during the Crusades and included among

their subjects the mysterious, unknown, and far off city of Trebizond, which was located, according to a French writer of the thirteenth century, Joinville, somewhere in "profound Greece" (*la profonde Grece*).<sup>18</sup> Gainsford's book deserves no place in bibliographies on the history of Trebizond.

In 1631 a book came out in Venice written in Modern Greek supposedly by the Metropolitan of Monembasia, Dorotheos; the lengthy title runs as follows: "An Historical Book from the creation of the world to the capture of Constantinople and thereafter. Gathered from various reliable stories and rendered into the spoken language by the Holiest Metropolitan of Monembasia, Dorotheos. . . ."<sup>19</sup> The book was probably compiled in 1630 and for two entire centuries (seventeenth and eighteenth) was exceedingly popular among Greeks. From the year 1631 when its first edition appeared to the year 1818 not less than seventeen editions were printed.<sup>20</sup> For our purpose it is immaterial whether the author was named Hierotheos (Ἱερόθεος) for Dorotheos or whether he was another Greek writer, Manuel Malaxos (Μανουὴλ Μαλαξός). Sp. Lampros calls the author of Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν Pseudo-Dorotheos of Monembasia (Ψευδοδωρόθεος Μονεμβασίας).<sup>21</sup> Later apparently he changed his opinion and was inclined to attribute the book to Dorotheos of Monembasia. But his exact position is not clear, for the specific study on this writer which he planned to publish was prevented by his death.<sup>22</sup> In his book Dorotheos used Byzantine world chronicles and some other material, for example the rhymed

<sup>18</sup> Joinville, *Histoire de Saint-Louis*, ed. N. Wailly (Paris, 1882), ch. CXVI, p. 591.

<sup>19</sup> Βιβλίον ἱστορικὸν περιέχον ἐν συνόψει διαφόρους καὶ ἐξόχους ἱστορίας, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου μέχρι τῆς ἀλώσεως Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ ἐπέκεινα. Συλλεχθὲν μὲν ἐκ διαφόρων ἀκριβῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν κοινὴν γλῶσσαν μεταγλωττισθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Μονεμβασίας κυρίου Δωροθέου . . . Ἐνετίησιν, 1631. For latest information on Dorotheos of Monembasia see Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, XVI (1922), pp. 137-190: Δωροθέου Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν (from unpublished papers of the late Sp. Lampros). The introductory explanatory section is signed by the initials K. I. Δ. (pp. 137-142). See also K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (2d ed. Munich, 1897), p. 401. Th. Preger, *Die Chronik vom Jahre 1570* ("Dorotheos" von Monembasia und Manuel Malaxos), *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XI (1902), 4-15 (addition to Krumbacher's book).

<sup>20</sup> On various editions of this book see E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle*, I (Paris, 1894), 290-299, 352-353; II (Paris, 1894), 327-334, 390-391, 437. E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, I (Paris, 1918), 303-305, 373; II (Paris, 1928), 11, 256, 355, 450.

<sup>21</sup> See for example, Σπ. Λάμπρος, *Περὶ τῆς παιδείας ἐν Ἰωαννίνοις ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας*. Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, XIII (1916), 309.

<sup>22</sup> Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, XVI (1922), 137-138.



chronicle of Morea, perhaps in its prose paraphrase.<sup>23</sup> No thorough study of his sources has yet been made. This book may be mentioned here because it contains a very brief narrative of the fall of Trebizond. The name of the last emperor, David, is mentioned several times. After delivering the keys of the city to the Sultan he was brought to Constantinople. According to Dorotheos, David was a rude and cowardly man unworthy of his name.<sup>24</sup>

A very brief and quite rudimentary sketch of the history of the Empire of Trebizond is given in an Italian book printed in Venice in 1663. This book in folio, containing 218 pages, with a lengthy introduction whose pages are unnumbered, was compiled by Lorenzo Miniati and is devoted to the glorification of the Comneni family. The title runs as follows: *Miniati* Lorenzo. *Le glorie cadute dell'antichissima ed augustissima Famiglia Comnena*. In Venetia, 1663, in fol. According to the author, the family originally bore the name of Silvia, then Giulia, later Flavia, and finally Comnena, and in its origin went back to the line of Aeneas of Troy, King of the Latins (p. 10). On pp. 61-65 is a list with very brief summaries of the reigns of the emperors of Trebizond. They were *Capitani famosi* and for their deeds were generally called *i Gran Comneni*. On p. 72 we have a letter from David Comnenus, the last Trapezuntine emperor, to his second wife Helene Cantacuzene. The text of the letter is printed in Italian; it begins *Amantissima mia Consorte* and is signed *Vostro amantissimo Davide*. On pp. 77-81 is a *Lament (Pianto)* by Helene Cantacuzene, Empress of Trebizond. Then follows a poem (*ottave*) by Girolamo Garopoli, the *archiprete* of Corigliano: "David Comnenus, the last Emperor of Trebizond, exhorts his sons to die for the Faith" (pp. 81-82). On pp. 83-84 is a poem written by Fr. Franciscus Macedo Lusitanus, "*Imperatrix stragem Trapezuntici Imperatoris et Imperii lamentatur*." On pp. 84-87 we read, "*Davidis Comneni ultimi Trapezuntij Imperatoris 'De fortuna triumphus'*" Carmen Lo. Francisci Raymundi academici incauti." Obviously the book has no historical value whatsoever; but it may be interesting to note that one of the earliest examples of interest in Trapezuntine history springs from Miniati's desire to glorify the Comneni line

<sup>23</sup> A fragment from his book on the history of the Peloponnesus in the fifteenth century was published in Ch. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), pp. 237-239. See Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 401. Preger, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 15.

<sup>24</sup> Dorotheos of Monembasia, *Βιβλίον ιστορικόν* . . . (Venice, 1631), pp. 553-554 (I used the edition of 1631). Fallmerayer also used the book in this edition. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), pp. 263, 277, 279.

and to link it with the mythical origins of the Italian state. Karl Hopf mentions Miniati's *Glorie cadute* but dismisses his conclusions as nonsense (*unsinnig*).<sup>25</sup>

About 1665 Nickodemos, a Greek monk from Phasis in Colchis, compiled a history of the monastery of Soumela (Sumela) and a religious service in memory of the holy Fathers probably belonging to it. The compilation is, as far as I am aware, still unpublished,<sup>26</sup> like the above-mentioned history of Soumela written by Athanasius Daimonokatalytes in 1600. But Nikodemos' compilation was used and referred to by Metaxopoulos, who in 1775 published at Leipzig in Greek his brief history of the monastery of Soumela already mentioned above. From his references we learn that the compilation not only deals with the monastery of Soumela but is connected with the political and religious history of the Empire of Trebizond as well.<sup>27</sup> Knowing Nikodemos' compilation from Metaxopoulos' references, Karl Hopf calls it an apocryphal work and names the author Nicolaos Kolchios in error for Nikodemos.<sup>28</sup>

In his numerous and various works the famous Du Cange failed to undertake a history of the Empire of Trebizond; indeed in his time printed sources on the subject were so scarce, fragmentary, and disconnected that such a task would have been impossible, as he well understood. But in his work *Familiae Byzantinae*, which came out in 1680, he briefly treated of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond. According to Du Cange, Alexius Comnenus, surnamed the Great, under the title of *dux* governed Colchis, *i. e.*, the Trapezuntine province, under Constantinopolitan emperors, *i. e.*, under the Angeli before 1204; when Constantinople was captured in 1204 by the Franks, Alexius decided to proclaim himself supreme ruler of the duchy. Du Cange pointed out that it is erroneous to ascribe the title of emperor to Alexius, because, as many state, this title was first usurped by his grandson John. Du Cange bases his conclusion on a passage from the learned French encyclopedist of the thirteenth century, Vincent of Beauvais (died in 1264), who in his *Speculum Historiale* mentions that about 1240 the lord (*dominus*) of Trebizond used to

<sup>25</sup> K. Hopf, *Griechenland im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit. Allgemeine Encyclopädie* . . . von Ersch und Gruber, LXXXV (Leipzig, 1867), 210, n. 24.

<sup>26</sup> See, Σπ. Λάμπρος, *Θεωῶς ἀγνωστος χρονογράφος τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος. Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, I (1904), p. 200: *συγγράφας περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς Ἱστορικὸν καὶ Ἀκολουθίαν τῶν δσίων πατέρων*. Lampros knows Nikodemos from Metaxopoulos' references.

<sup>27</sup> Metaxopoulos in his references calls Nikodemos' compilation *Ἱστορία Τραπεζοῦντος* (p. 56), *Ἱστορία Σουμελά* (p. 57), or simply *Νικόδημος*.

<sup>28</sup> K. Hopf, *op. cit.*, p. 210, n. 24.

give the Sultan of Iconium "200 lances" or a specified number of soldiers; since Vincent of Beauvais called the ruler of Trebizond not emperor but dominus, Du Cange came to the conclusion that in the thirteenth century the rulers of Trebizond did not bear the title of emperor.<sup>29</sup> Then in the second section of the genealogy of the Comeni family Du Cange gave the genealogical table of a certain number of Trapezuntine princes and emperors.<sup>30</sup> For two hundred and fifty-eight years of the Empire of Trebizond, according to Du Cange, there were no more than twelve rulers: among them he could name only nine. We know now that there were no less than twenty emperors of Trebizond, all identified by name.<sup>31</sup> In another place Du Cange mentions the marriage of the Byzantine Emperor John V Palaeologus (1341-1391) to the Trapezuntine Princess Eudocia, daughter of the Emperor Alexius III (1349-1390).<sup>32</sup> He also writes, "Phrantzes reports that David was killed by a blow of the fist inflicted upon him by the Sultan himself."<sup>33</sup> Realizing the poverty of the material at his disposal, Du Cange wrote in conclusion that impenetrable obscurity covers the destinies of the Trapezuntine Comneni.<sup>34</sup>

In 1701 a French botanist, P. Tournefort, was sent by the French King Louis XIV on a scientific mission to the Near East, and visited Trebizond.<sup>35</sup> He arrived in Trebizond on May 23 and left the city on June 3. In spite of the shortness of his visit Tournefort, who was

<sup>29</sup> Du Cange, *Familiae Byzantinae* (Parisiis, 1680), p. 192. Du Cange's point of view has since been contradicted. See Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), pp. 69-81. A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 30-32.

<sup>30</sup> *Idem*, pp. 191-195. In the Venetian edition of Du Cange's work (Venetiis, 1729), pp. 158-161; see W. Miller, *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), p. 130.

<sup>31</sup> See Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>32</sup> Du Cange, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>33</sup> Du Cange, *op. cit.*, p. 195: Tradit Phrantzes Davidem ab ipso Sultano pugno interfectum esse. Here is an interesting blunder. In Phrantzes' *History* (ed. Bonn, 414) we read: *κάκεινον πνιγμῷ ἐτελείωσε*, i. e., (the Sultan ordered) him to be strangled; in the Bonn edition the Latin translation is correct: suffocari jussit. But an earlier Latin translator of Phrantzes' *History* gave a wrong translation: he killed him with the fist. It is very strange that Du Cange gave his statement not from the original Greek but from a Latin translation. This error has already been clarified in Lebeau's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, new edition by Saint Martin and Brosset, XXI (Paris, 1836), 375-376. Evidently the translator confused two Greek words: *ὁ πνιγμός*—strangulation, and *ἡ πνιγμή*—a fist.

<sup>34</sup> See Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. XIV.

<sup>35</sup> Fallmerayer erroneously says that Tournefort was in Trebizond in the summer of the year 1700. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), p. 292.

interested not only in botany but also in history and in the customs and manners of the countries he visited, devoted some attention to the history of Trebizond both in ancient times and in the Middle Ages.<sup>36</sup> He wrote that the city of Trebizond was celebrated in history only by the retreat of the Comneni who, after the capture of Constantinople by the French and Venetians, set up there the seat of their Empire.<sup>37</sup> He knew that in the twelfth century Constantine Gabras established himself there as an independent governor or, according to Tournefort, as a petty tyrant (*en petit Tyran*). In 1204 Alexius Comnenus, surnamed the Great, took possession of Trebizond with the title of duke (*Dux*), and it was only the third ruler, his own son, John Comnenus, whom the Greeks called emperor of Trebizond as if they wished to show that it was the Comnenus who was their true emperor; Michael Palaeologus, who had his residence in Constantinople, had abandoned the Greek rite to follow that of Rome. It is certain that Vincent of Beauvais calls Alexius Comnenus merely *seigneur* of Trebizond.<sup>38</sup> Tournefort remarks, "However it may be, the *sovereignty* of this city, if one does not wish to use the word *empire*, commenced in 1204 under Alexius Comnenus and ended in 1461, when Muhammed II dethroned David Comnenus."<sup>39</sup> Tournefort blunders in saying that "this unfortunate prince" married Irene, daughter of the Emperor John Cantacuzene.<sup>40</sup> Of course David Comnenus, who lived in the second half of the fifteenth century, could not have married the daughter of John Cantacuzene, who lived in the fourteenth century (1341-1354).<sup>41</sup> Tournefort, following Du Cange's statement, refers to the Byzantine historian Phrantzes as his authority for saying that David Comnenus died from a blow of the fist dealt him by the Sultan.<sup>42</sup> In addition to this brief survey of the political history of the Empire of Trebizond, Tournefort gives a fine description of the city and its walls and publishes the text of four

<sup>36</sup> Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant fait par ordre du Roy*, vol. II (Paris, 1717). I also used another edition of this book printed in Amsterdam, 1718. I give in parentheses the pages of the latter edition.

<sup>37</sup> II, 224 (99).

<sup>38</sup> II, 232-233 (101-102). The opinion now prevails that Alexis Comnenus already bore the imperial title. See A. Vasiliev, "Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Speculum*, XI (1936), pp. 30-37. Also Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. 69. In his statement about Michael Palaeologus Tournefort had in view the Union of Lyons in the year 1274.

<sup>39</sup> II, 233 (102).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> David's second wife was Helene Cantacuzene, who belonged to the same famous family. This explains Tournefort's mistake.

<sup>42</sup> II, 233 (102). We have noted above that this statement of Du Cange is incorrect.

Greek inscriptions; especially interesting is the first, which contains the name of Justinian the Great.<sup>43</sup> Then we have a description of the port of Trebizond and of a visit to Saint Sophia and to the large monastery of Saint John, twenty-five miles southeast of the city.<sup>44</sup> Even today the few pages dedicated by Tournefort to Trebizond may be read with interest and profit.

We have already emphasized the fact that in the seventeenth century Athanasius Daimonokalytes and Nikodemos of Phasis compiled histories of the Empire of Trebizond based specifically upon a history of the monastery of Soumela (Sumela), which was closely connected with the political and religious history of Trebizond. But these two compilations remain unpublished. They were, however, employed by Metaxopoulos, whose compilation was published in 1775. This book is extremely rare. According to E. Legrand,<sup>45</sup> four copies only are known: (1) in the private library of the late French professor Emile Legrand; this copy now belongs to Professor H. Pernot in Paris;<sup>46</sup> (2) in the British Museum, 870, h. 3; (3) in the Library of the *Ecole évangélique in Smyrna*, *Ἑρσκη. Τκ.* 206; (4) in the National Library of Athens, Theol. 3859. The book is written in Greek and was published in Leipzig in 1775. Its author was a monk from Trebizond, *hieromonachus* Parthenios Metaxopoulos, archimandrite of the monastery of Soumela (Sumela). The book contains a variety of articles connected with the religious history of Trebizond and its neighborhood; Its title is very lengthy; with some omissions it runs as follows: 'Ἡ θεία καὶ ἱερὰ ἀκολουθία τῶν ὁσίων καὶ θεοφόρων Πατέρων ἡμῶν Βαρνάβα καὶ Σωφρονίου τῶν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Χριστοφόρου, τῶν ἐν Μελαῷ ὄρει ἀσκησάντων . . . ἡ Ἱερὰ ἱστορία τῆς βασιλικῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Σουμελα . . . Ἐμμελεῖ δὲ καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ συνδρομῇ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς Μονῆς Παρθενίου Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Τραπεζουντίου τοῦ Μεταξοπούλου, παρ' οὗ συντεθεῖσα καὶ ἡ ἐν Συνόψει Ἱστορία τοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς περιφέρειας Τραπεζοῦντος· Ἐν Λευφίᾳ τῆς Σαξονίας, ἐν ἔτει αψοε'—1775. A brief sketch of the history of the city and Empire of Trebizond is to be found on pp. 55-68, fourteen pages altogether. The title of this sketch follows: Ἱστορικὸν τῆς πολέως Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ τῶν Βασιλέων αὐτῆς, παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἱερομονάχοις Παρθενίου Τραπεζουντίου τοῦ Μεταξοπούλου, καὶ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου

<sup>43</sup> II, 233-235 (102-103). See A. Vasiliev, "Zur Geschichte von Trapezunt unter Justinian dem Grossen," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XXX (1929-1930), 385-386.

<sup>44</sup> II, 235-238 (103-104).

<sup>45</sup> Emile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle*. Oeuvre posthume complétée et publiée par Mgr L. Petit et H. Pernot, II (Paris, 1928), 207-208.

<sup>46</sup> During my work in Paris in 1934, Professor H. Pernot was kind enough to lend me this book. I acknowledge here my sincere gratitude to him.

ἐκ τῆς Βασιλικῆς Μονῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Σουμελά. I do not know why the compilation was published in Germany.

On pp. 53-56 Metaxopoulos gives some brief information on the pagan and Christian past of Trebizond before 1204. Among other things, he tells of the arrival from Athens in the reign of Theodosius the Great of two monks, Barnabas and Sophronios, and their founding of the monastery of Soumela (Sumela). The foundation of the monastery of Zaboulon, now Bazelon, is also mentioned. In his notes he refers to some Byzantine sources, such as George Syncellus, Zosimus, John Malalas, Symeon Metaphrastes, and to the compilations of Athanasios Daimonokatalytes and Nikodemos of Colchis, several times mentioned above. On pp. 59-68 Metaxopoulos treats of the history of the Empire of Trebizond. Generally speaking, his information is not exact and sometimes not free from legend. In 1204, after the death of the Emperor of Trebizond Nicephorus Palaeologus,<sup>47</sup> Andronicus' descendant (ὁ Ἐκγονος) Alexius the Great came from Constantinople and occupied the imperial throne of Trebizond and reigned thirty-five years.<sup>48</sup> With his own hands he killed a monstrous and terrible dragon outside the city. The names and dates of the succeeding emperors are mostly incorrect; for example, in the thirteenth century he gives the names of the emperors Nicolaos and Hadrian, who never existed. Michael Palaeologus, who in 1261 took Constantinople from the Latins, was Latino-minded (Λατινοφρονήσαντος).<sup>49</sup> Therefore the inhabitants of Constantinople sent the imperial title and insignia to John of Trebizond. After several years of dispute between John of Trebizond and Michael Palaeologus John married Michael's daughter Eudokia.<sup>50</sup> About 1340 Alexius for his victories over the Persians was proclaimed Βασιλεὺς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ πάσης Ἀνατολῆς, Ἰβήρων καὶ Περσείας.<sup>51</sup> Naturally Metaxopoulos violently attacks the Council of Florence and calls it "the all-abominable Council anathematized by the Holy and Oecumenical Councils, a Pseudo-Council (Ψευδοσύλλογος)." The capture of Trebizond by the Turks is described on pp. 66-67. Metaxopoulos ends his brief sketch with the following words: "And this as it had briefly been collected by

<sup>47</sup> Nicephorus Palaeologus, of course, was not an emperor but the last governor of Trebizond mentioned in the twelfth century.

<sup>48</sup> In reality Alexius I reigned eighteen years (1204-1222).

<sup>49</sup> Here Metaxopoulos has in view Michael's negotiations with Rome and the conclusion of the Union of Lyons in 1274.

<sup>50</sup> This is historical fact. The Emperor of Trebizond was John II (1280-1297).

<sup>51</sup> The year 1340 is wrong. But Alexius II (1297-1330) was probably the first Trapezuntine sovereign who bore this title.

various writers, here and there, was written according to our ability" (p. 68). On pp. 45-52 Metaxopoulos gives "an exact copy of the Imperial *chrysobull* of Alexius, in Christ God Faithful Emperor and Autocrat of all the East, the Iberians and the Transmarine Province." Unfortunately at this moment the text of the copy printed by Metaxopoulos is not available; but I believe that it reproduces the very well known chrysobull issued by Alexius III (1349-1390) in favor of the Venetians in March, 1364.<sup>52</sup>

Of course Metaxopoulos' sketch has no historical value whatever, but it shows how desperately poor was the information on Trebizond in the eighteenth century and how rudimentary was Metaxopoulos' capacity to handle the subject. He evidently even failed to know Du Cange's work, *Familiae Byzantinae*. K. Hopf, who was familiar with Metaxopoulos' book, calls it "a cheat pure and simple" (*reiner Schwindel*).<sup>53</sup>

In 1789 Hénin published in French a brief historical and genealogical survey on the origin of the imperial house of the Comneni.<sup>54</sup> The author tells us that he received most of his information on the Comneni family from the Greek prince, Demetrius Comnenus, one of its last scions. The prince lived in the eighteenth century in France where after having proved his direct lineage from the last Trapezuntine emperor, David, he obtained from the French King letters patent; he died in Paris in 1811.<sup>55</sup> Hénin's book is nothing but a fantastic tale. The first branch of the Comneni family, he believes, goes back to Teucer I, King of Troad, 2500 B. C. (p. 6). The second branch is connected with the Roman family of Flavia which in 469 A. D. adopted the surname of Comanus or Comaine and later Comnenus (p. 29). Besides Demetrius Comnenus, Hénin mentions among his sources the great Greek historian John Lascaris who lived in 1460 and

<sup>52</sup> If this is so, mention of this copy might have been made in D. Zakythinós' fine monograph, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène empereur de Trébizonde en faveur des Vénitiens* (Paris, 1932).

<sup>53</sup> K. Hopf, *Griechenland im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit. Allgemeine Encyclopädie* . . . von Ersch und Gruber, LXXXV (Leipzig, 1867), 210, n. 24. On some sources of Metaxopoulos' see S. Lampros, *Θεωρίας ἀγνωστος χρονογράφος τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας τῆς Τραπεζούντος. Νέος Ἑλληνομνημῶν*, I (1904), 200-201. T. Εὐαγγελίδης [*Ἱστορία τῆς Τραπεζούντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς* (756 π. χ.-1897)]. *Ἐν Ὁδησσῷ*, 1898], mentions Metaxopoulos' compilation in his preface (p. 8).

<sup>54</sup> Hénin, *Coup d'oeil historique et généalogique sur l'origine de la maison impériale de Comnène* (Venice, 1789).

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 87; 103-107. Letters patent, pp. 107-114. Two personal letters connected with this question on pp. 43-44. See Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, p. xv.

wrote a history of the imperial house of the Comneni (pp. 35-36).<sup>56</sup> Hénin says that Leo Allatius who lived in the fourteenth century<sup>57</sup> and who wrote a history of Greece agrees entirely with John Lascaris. Alexius Comnenus III was the first emperor of Trebizond and died in 1203. Alexius Comnenus IV was the second emperor of Trebizond in 1255. Hénin's book is quite meaningless and it is not surprising that K. Hopf calls it nonsense.<sup>58</sup>

Before Fallmerayer's discoveries and works only one serious book was devoted specifically to the history of the Empire of Trebizond. This was written in Latin by a Scandinavian historian, P. W. Afzelius, and published in 1824 at Upsala as a University of Upsala dissertation.<sup>59</sup> Obviously at Afzelius' time the material available for the history of that Empire was not only desperately scanty but badly scattered. The author himself fully realized this. The Empire of Trebizond was known to many people as hardly more than a name. Some writers were discouraged from attempting its history by the penury of the sources, others thought the subject itself unimportant and unworthy of discussion. But Afzelius felt it would be valuable to put together the scanty information derived from various sources and in a simple narrative to present it to the reader. It was not a vain task, he felt, to tell the story of Trebizond, which, starting with a small beginning, flourished as an empire for two hundred and fifty-eight years, finally surviving by nine years the capture of Constantinople, continuing the life of the Byzantine Empire till the year 1462,<sup>60</sup> when after a long siege Trebizond was forced to surrender to the Turks, and its last emperor with his seven sons, unwilling to abjure the Christian faith, met a violent death.<sup>61</sup> The little that concerns Trapezuntine matters is mostly contained in the writings of Byzantine authors, especially Nicetas Choniates, Nicephorus Gregoras, George Pachymeres, and Laonikos Chalcocondyles. Their accounts would be sometimes obscure without the help of a great scholar Carolus du Fresne (Du Cange). Afzelius' task was to search for *disjecta membra* in various places to make a connected whole. No one should be sur-

<sup>56</sup> On this humanist 'Ιάκωβος ('Ιωάννης) Λάσκαρις see E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, I (Paris, 1885), CXXXI-CLXII; II (Paris, 1885), 322-334. More recently B. A. Μυστακίδης, *Δασκάρεις* (1400-1869), 'Επετηρίς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, V (1928), 141-145. There is no mention of his history of the Comneni family.

<sup>57</sup> Allatius lived in the seventeenth century.

<sup>58</sup> K. Hopf, *op. cit.*, I, 210, n. 24.

<sup>59</sup> P. W. Afzelius, *De Imperio Trapezuntino. Dissertatio* (Upsala, 1824), pp. 82.

<sup>60</sup> In reality the Empire of Trebizond fell in 1461.

<sup>61</sup> Afzelius, *op. cit.*, 1-2.



prised, he says, that the things we have engaged to narrate are but particles from, and quasi-additions to, the period of Byzantine history, which itself is not yet sufficiently explained or known.<sup>62</sup> After a general discussion on Byzantine history, which is irrelevant to our purpose, Afzelius briefly outlines the capture of Constantinople by the Franks in 1204, the history of Theodore Lascaris at Nicaea, and the Despotate of Epirus.<sup>63</sup> Afzelius correctly states that the first emperor of Trebizond, Alexius Comnenus, was a grandson of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus I, but following Du Cange he states that in 1204 Alexius Comnenus ruled Trebizond with the title of *dux*. It is unknown why Alexius Comnenus was surnamed the Great. The rest of his life and activities are veiled in obscurity.<sup>64</sup> In Afzelius' period the names of Alexius' son and successor, and the son's successor, were unknown. Following Du Cange's presentation, Afzelius says that the Union of Lyons concluded by the emperor Michael Palaeologus in 1274 aroused so much hatred towards him on the part of the Greek Orthodox population of the Empire that they transferred the imperial title from him to the ruler of Trebizond, John II (1280-1297), who thereafter was called emperor.<sup>65</sup> After negotiations between the two courts in 1282 John II married Eudokia, Michael Palaeologus' third daughter. "Owing to this association with the Byzantine court, the Empire of Trebizond grew in fame. It is probable that henceforth the court of the Lazae began to imitate the Byzantine court."<sup>66</sup> Then Afzelius mentions hostilities between Trebizond and the Genoese and the restitution of their commercial relations.<sup>67</sup> According to Afzelius, Trebizond fell in 1462; he knew that several scholars believed that this event occurred in 1461; but he did not agree with them.<sup>68</sup>

Afzelius was a very serious and conscientious historian. He did a very good piece of work on the basis of the material available at his time. He was very familiar with Byzantine historians and with Du Cange's *Familiae Byzantinae*, which he often closely followed but from which he sometimes dissented; he referred to Tournefort's *Travel in the Levant*, which we have discussed above, and to the first edition of Lebeau's work, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, continued by H. Ameilhon (Paris, 1757-1817). Afzelius was perfectly right in sharply criticizing Miniati's fanciful book mentioned above on the origin and glorification of the Comneni family.<sup>69</sup> Afzelius' disadvantage was

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-10. On pp. 20-28 Afzelius gives a brief survey of the history of Trebizond before 1204.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43-45

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

that he wrote a few years before the brilliant discoveries and illuminating work of Fallmerayer, whose *History of the Empire of Trebizond* came out in 1827. In 1854 A. Kunik remarked that Afzelius' book had no significance whatever.<sup>70</sup> Kunik not only knew Fallmerayer's works but also the second enlarged and revised edition of Lebeau's voluminous work and even the first edition of G. Finlay's *History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires*. After the publication of so many important books with much new material, Kunik was correct. But for his own period Afzelius wrote a very good and reliable book; it must be regarded as an accurate summary of what had been done for the history of the Empire of Trebizond before Fallmerayer's *History of the Empire of Trebizond*. Fallmerayer was evidently unacquainted with Afzelius' dissertation, because he mentions it neither in his preface nor in the book itself. He should of course have known it. In any case, Afzelius' book must be listed and adequately appreciated in a study that traces the gradual development of our knowledge of the Empire of Trebizond. With Afzelius' book the preparatory or minor period of the study of the history of the Empire of Trebizond comes to its close.

A new page in the history of the Empire of Trebizond was turned by Fallmerayer, who in 1827 published the definitive book on this subject. J. Ph. Fallmerayer was born in Tirol (Austria) in 1790. He was a lieutenant who fought against Napoleon in 1814-1815, an untiring traveller in Europe and especially in the Near East, for a while a professor at the University of Munich, and a politician who in connection with the revolutionary movement of 1848 was forced to take refuge in Switzerland. Fallmerayer became a real pioneer in investigating and creating the history of Trebizond. He died in Munich in 1861, seventy-one years of age. He himself characterized his life by writing the following lines under his portrait in a Munich tavern where he sometimes enjoyed a little relaxation.

Disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,  
Fortunam ex aliis.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> A. Kunik, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Uchenyya Zapiski of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg*, first and third sections, II (1854), 706, n. 1 (in Russian).

<sup>71</sup> On Fallmerayer's biography see Thomas, *Gesammelte Werke von Fallmerayer*, I (Leipzig, 1861). Steub, *Fallmerayer, Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, VI (1877), 558-566. Höfler, "Erinnerungen an Fallmerayer. Ein Licht und Schattenbild," *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XXVI (1888), 395-416. Mitterrutzner, *Fragmente aus dem Leben des Fragmentisten* (Brixen, 1887). A. Vasiliev, "The Slavs in Greece," *Viz. Vremennik*, V (1898), 35-41 (pag. of an offprint). The last study in Russian. Ernst Malaen, *Fallmerayer's Schriften und Tagebücher*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1913).

Trebizond drew Fallmerayer from his youth. He wrote, "Trebizond and the eternally green Colchis—it was the country of my dreams from my earliest years; I felt I must breathe its air."<sup>72</sup> Later after he had worked for several years on the Empire of Trebizond, he for the first time visited the city. At last was spread before him, to use his own words, this "long-desired city of the Comneni with its soft and melodious name."<sup>73</sup> In another passage, describing his wanderings in the monasteries in the vicinity of Trebizond, he exclaimed, "No country in the world is better suited to be a place for pilgrimage than this enchanted wilderness."<sup>74</sup>

In 1824 Fallmerayer received a gold medal from the Academy of Sciences of Copenhagen for his work on the subject of a contest announced by the Academy. The subject was "The Empire of Trebizond."<sup>75</sup> A. Kunik observes in this connection, "The glorious history of the Trapezuntine state owes the beginning of its being to Denmark."<sup>76</sup> During his work at the famous Library of St. Mark at Venice (*Bibliotheca Marciana*) among the manuscripts of the rich collection that Cardinal Bessarion bestowed upon the city of Venice in the fifteenth century, Fallmerayer was fortunate enough to discover the palace *Chronicle* of Trebizond written by Michael Panaretos, who lived at Trebizond at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Owing to this drab but truthful chronicle it has become possible to a certain extent to restore the chronological sequence of the most important events in the history of the Empire of Trebizond. The *Chronicle* covers the period from 1204 to 1426 and gives several names of emperors of Trebizond formerly unknown. It is almost certain that Panaretos' chronicle ends with the year 1382, and that several necrological additions that follow down to the year 1426, when the last emperor of Trebizond, David, married Maria of Theodoro in the Crimea, were inserted in the manuscript by an unknown later writer.

From Panaretos' data, which he used in manuscript form, and some other documents Fallmerayer published in 1827 his outstanding work, *A History of the Empire of Trebizond*, whose significance in spite of

<sup>72</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, I, pp. xxi-xxii. Mitterrutzner, *op. cit.*, 25.

<sup>73</sup> Fallmerayer, *Fragmente aus dem Orient* (2. Auflage, durchgesehen und eingeleitet von Dr. Thomas, Stuttgart, 1877), p. 26.

<sup>74</sup> *Original Fragmente* . . . I, p. 55. The full title will be given below.

<sup>75</sup> An interesting coincidence may be noted here. The same year (1824) in which the Academy of Copenhagen awarded a gold medal to Fallmerayer for his work on "The Empire of Trebizond," the Scandinavian historian Afzelius published his own dissertation on the same subject. On Afzelius see above.

<sup>76</sup> A. Kunik, "Why does Byzantium still remain an Enigma in World History?" *Uchenyja Zapiski* of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, first and third sections, II (1854), 438 (in Russian).

the many years which separate us from its date of publication is not lost even today.<sup>77</sup> In his introduction (pp. 1-43) Fallmerayer sketches the history of Trebizond from earliest times through the Byzantine period down to the year 1185, when the revolution broke out in Constantinople that overthrew the Comneni, who in the person of two infant brothers were taken to Colchis; the relations between Trebizond and Tamar, the Queen of Georgia, are adequately considered. Then Fallmerayer with all the details which were then available to him gives a very interesting and reliable picture of the history of the Empire of Trebizond down to the year of its final fall, which he dates in 1462.<sup>78</sup> Besides political history he devotes considerable attention to the internal situation of the Empire, to its capital and provinces, its customs and manners, commerce, literary activities, and finally to the Trapezuntine Church. Even now we are amazed at his vast knowledge of various sources, Greek, Latin, and Oriental; his style is picturesque and sometimes impulsive. Fallmerayer has a perhaps justifiably high opinion of his own scholarly achievements. He writes: "Before me—I may indeed say so—the Empire of Trebizond was an empty word, something dark and shapeless that under my hand has been moulded into form." Then he proceeds: "Has not the universal significance of the Byzantine State and the eternal indelible idea that forms its foundation come to the understanding of Western peoples through *my* care ('durch *meine* Sorge') as a constitutive element of the human race and an essential part of world economy?"<sup>79</sup> In another passage we read: "Therefore the author may claim the merit of having written, without predecessor, without direction, without guiding star, the first critical and documented history of the Trapezuntine Empire, and thereby of having fixed the true moment at which the famous nation of the Hellenes disappeared from the rank of peoples and sank into the darkness of a very long night."<sup>80</sup>

In 1842 Fallmerayer published the first part of his *Original Fragments, Chronicles, Inscriptions and other Materials for the history of the Empire of Trebizond*.<sup>81</sup> This publication of various Greek

<sup>77</sup> Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), pp. xx + 356. See favorable reviews by Hase, Silvestre-de-Sacy, Niebuhr, and others mentioned by Thomas in *Gesammelte Werke von Fallmerayer*, I, xxii-xxiii.

<sup>78</sup> The real year of the fall of Trebizond is 1461.

<sup>79</sup> Fallmerayer, *Original—Fragmente*, I, p. 3. For the complete title of this publication see below.

<sup>80</sup> Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, p. xv: *In das Dunkel einer vierthalbhundertjährigen Nacht*.

<sup>81</sup> Fallmerayer, "Original—Fragmente, Chroniken, Inschriften und andere Materiale zur Geschichte des Kaiserthums Trapezunt." Erste Abtheilung,

documents with a German translation and valuable commentary was very important in Fallmerayer's time. There is a synoptic account of the miracles of St. Eugenios, the special protector of Trebizond, which was attributed by Fallmerayer to the treasurer Lazaros; a fragment from the reign of Alexius III (1349-1390), attributed also to Lazaros; a chrysobull of the same emperor and his wife Theodora Comnena given in 1375.<sup>82</sup> Another chrysobull of the same emperor to the monastery of Soumela (Sumela), granted in 1365; seven inscriptions, some of which had been published, but not very correctly, by Tournefort. His notes to the published texts (pp. 107-159) have not lost their interest even in our own day. Of course since Fallmerayer's time many new discoveries in the history, topography, and ethnography of Trebizond have been made, so that in several respects his edition may be considered out of date.<sup>83</sup> It has now been shown that the treasurer Lazaros, to whom Fallmerayer attributed two texts as noted above, never existed, and Lazaros as a hagiographer and the title of the document given by Fallmerayer are his own invention.<sup>84</sup>

In 1846 Fallmerayer published the second part of his *Original Fragments*. This part contains the Greek text of the Trapezuntine Chronicle of Michael Panaretos (Μιχαήλ ὁ Πανάρετος) mentioned above, its German translation, and a very valuable commentary.<sup>85</sup> Of course in 1846 the *Chronicle* of Panaretos was no longer an unpublished text as it had been in 1827 when Fallmerayer published his *History of the Empire of Trebizond*. In 1832 a German philologist and historian, G. L. Fr. Tafel, printed Panaretos' text, but without translation or commentary,<sup>86</sup> and from Tafel's edition Saint-Martin and Brosset, in various volumes of their new edition of Lebeau's

Abhandlungen der hist. Classe der K. Bay. Akad. der Wiss., III, 2 (Munich, 1842), 1-159.

<sup>82</sup> The exact date is September, 1374.

<sup>83</sup> See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes historiae Imperii Trapezuntini*, I (St. Petresburg, 1897), p. i, n. 1 (in Russian).

<sup>84</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, pp. ix-x. Lazaros' name occurs in Fallmerayer's *Original-Fragmente*, I, 14, 17, 71, 85. From Fallmerayer the name of "a hagiographer Lazaros, the author of the miracles of St. Eugenios" passed into the first edition of *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca* (Brussels, 1895), p. 41. But his name disappeared in the second edition of this work (Brussels, 1909), after the Bollandists had become acquainted with the publication of Papadopoulos Kerameus.

<sup>85</sup> Fallmerayer, "Original-Fragmente, Chroniken, Inschriften und andere Materiale zur Geschichte des Kaiserthums Trapezunt." Zweite Abtheilung, Abhandlungen der hist. Classe der K. Bay. Akad. der Wiss., IV, 1 (Munich, 1846), pp. 1-108.

<sup>86</sup> G. L. Fr. Tafel published the *Chronicle* as an appendix to his book *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula* (Frankfurt a/M., 1832), pp. 362-370.

*Histoire du Bas-Empire*, largely employed this chronicle and gave it a French rendering.<sup>87</sup> After Fallmerayer's edition the *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos was republished twice more. In 1905 a Russian orientalist, A. Khakhanov, published the Greek text and a Russian translation with an introduction, notes, and two appendices, containing a list of the Trapezuntine emperors and information on the matrimonial unions between Georgia and Byzantium.<sup>88</sup> Khakhanov's publication was sharply criticized by reviewers.<sup>89</sup> Finally in 1907 a Greek scholar, Sp. Lampros, issued a new edition of the *Chronicle* of Panaretos.<sup>90</sup> Altogether this Trapezuntine Palace *Chronicle* was published four times.

In connection with this chronicle Fallmerayer writes: "According to an unpublished *Encomium* on Trebizond, written by Bessarion, there was in the imperial palace a frescoed hall, on whose walls were to be seen all the Great Comneni with their families in chronological order and with a brief account of the most outstanding events of their rule. This dynastic gallery with its inscriptions might have easily served Panaretos as a background for his brief pre-chronicle (*Vor-Chronik*). He needed only to copy it."<sup>91</sup>

In spite of the many years that separate us from Fallmerayer's works and in spite of many new discoveries that have since been made in the field of the history of Trebizond, which have led us to modify and correct a number of Fallmerayer's statements and conclusions, we cannot work on the history of Trebizond today without using Fallmerayer's publications and his fruitful efforts to present that mysterious and obscure Empire in its real historical light and cultural significance.

The year 1847 is very important in the history of the development of our better knowledge of the Empire of Trebizond. In this year F. de Pfaffenhoffen published his memoir on the silver coins of Tre-

<sup>87</sup> Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, ed. Saint-Martin and Brosset (Paris, 1824-1836), XV, 255; XVII, 254, 470; XVIII, 280; XIX, 86; XX, 482-509.

<sup>88</sup> *The Trapezuntine Chronicle of Michael Panaretos*. Greek text with translation, preface, and commentaries, published by A. Khakhanov. *Trudy po vostokovedeniju* published by the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages, vol. XXIII (Moscow, 1905), Greek text, pp. 1-18; Russian translation and notes, pp. 19-44.

<sup>89</sup> See for example Eugene Pridik's severe review in the *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, September, 1906, pp. 181-185 (in Russian).

<sup>90</sup> Τὸ τραπεζουντιακὸν χρονικὸν τοῦ πρωτοσεβαστοῦ καὶ πρωτονοταρίου Μιχαὴλ Παναρέτου, ed. by Σπ. Δάμπρος, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, IV (1907), 257-295; the text pp. 266-294.

<sup>91</sup> This *Encomium* was published for the first time in 1916 by Sp. Lampros, *Βησσαρίωνος Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα*, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, XIII (1916), 145-204; the passage quoted, p. 189 (= p. 47 of its separate edition, Athens, 1916).

bizond,<sup>92</sup> in other words, he introduced quite a new source, namely numismatic material, into the history of the Empire. Long before Pfaffenhoffen's *Essay* came out, coins had been known with the image of Saint Eugenios on their reverse, and they had been attributed to Byzantine emperors. The first to assign them their right place was Baron N. D. Marchant. In 1827 he proposed to attribute these coins to Trebizond.<sup>93</sup> But his opinion met opposition, and the best authority on Byzantine coins at that time, F. de Saulcy, continued to regard these as Byzantine coins; but since he knew well that Saint Eugenios was not among those saints particularly venerated in Constantinople, he conjectured that the coins might have been minted in the Byzantine city of Cherson in the Crimea, although there was no evidence whatever that Saint Eugenios was specifically venerated in Cherson. After Fallmerayer's work Saint Eugenios proved to be the patron saint of Trebizond; Panaretos' chronicle furnished several new names of Trapezuntine emperors which were stamped on the coins. Doubts were dispersed, and Pfaffenhoffen's study opened quite a new page in the history of the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>94</sup> In his study he gave a vividly written brief sketch of the history of that Empire based on Panaretos, the Spanish traveller Clavijo, some Genoese and Venetian authors, and especially of course on Fallmerayer's works.<sup>95</sup>

In 1851 in the Greek periodical *Πανδώρα* was printed a letter from Trebizond signed N. φίλε.<sup>96</sup> In this letter written in Modern Greek the anonymous author writes, "When I left in order to visit Ionia and Byzantium, I did not know that the sight of the places where our fathers had flourished would urge me to visit also other monuments of their glory and misfortune." When he was at Trebizond, it occurred to him to write about this city, because, "as far as I recall, no one but Fallmerayer has specifically worked on that city." He gives in his letter a brief survey of the history of Trebizond from ancient times down to the fall of the Empire in 1461. He mentions the

<sup>92</sup> F. de Pfaffenhoffen, *Essai sur les aspres comnénats, ou blancs d'argent, de Trébizonde*. Ασπρα λεγόμενα Κομνηνάτα (Paris, 1847).

<sup>93</sup> N. D. Marchant, *Mélanges de numismatique et d'histoire* (Metz, 1818-1829), XXIII<sup>e</sup> lettre. I used a new edition of this study. *Lettres de Baron Marchant sur la numismatique et l'histoire*. Nouvelle édition (Paris, 1851), XXIII<sup>e</sup> lettre, pp. 320-334.

<sup>94</sup> On numismatic disputes before the publication of Pfaffenhoffen's book see Pfaffenhoffen, *Essai sur les aspres comnénats*, pp. 7-14. O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt*, *Numizmatičesky Sbornik*, I (Moscow, 1911), p. 113.

<sup>95</sup> Pfaffenhoffen, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-70.

<sup>96</sup> N. Ἡ Τραπεζοῦς. Πανδώρα. Σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν ἐκδιδόμενον δις τοῦ μηνός, I (ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1850-1851), pp. 352-355.

economic competition of Genoese and Venetians, narrates the episode of Megollo Lercari,<sup>97</sup> and gives other facts. During his stay at Trebizond he visited churches there that also reminded him of the glorious past. It is obvious that this letter has no historical value whatever; but it shows that just before 1850 some Greeks were interested in their past, were acquainted with Fallmerayer's name at least, and tried to gather some information on the fallen Empire.

In 1851 in England among his other historical works which dealt mostly with mediaeval and modern Greece, George Finlay published his *History of Greece from its conquest by the Crusaders to its conquest by the Turks, and of the Empire of Trebizond 1204-1461* (Edinburgh-London). Later Finlay entirely recast the section on Medieval Greece and Trebizond. The revised edition of all his historical works was published in seven volumes in 1877 at Oxford after the author's death by the Rev. H. F. Tozer. In the latter edition, which I am using in this study, the *History of the Empire of Trebizond* is to be found in volume IV, pp. 305-427.<sup>98</sup> In his book Finlay largely used Fallmerayer's work. He writes: "The history of Trebizond was almost unknown until Professor Fallmerayer discovered the *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos among the books of Cardinal Bessarion, preserved at Venice. From this chronicle, with the aid of some unpublished MSS., and a careful review of all the published sources of information, he wrote a history of Trebizond, which displays great critical acuteness."<sup>99</sup> A philhellenist by conviction, Finlay took part in the war of Greece against the Turks, and finally decided to make the soil of liberated Hellas his permanent home. He died at Athens in January, 1875.

In the preface to the first five volumes of the projected revised edition, written in 1855, we read: "The conquest of Constantinople in 1204 caused the foundation of a new Greek state in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, called the Empire of Trebizond. Its existence is a curious episode in Greek history, though the government was characterised by peculiarities which indicated the influence of Asiatic rather than of European manners. It bore a strong

<sup>97</sup> On Lercari see, for instance, W. Miller, *Trebizond* (London, 1926), pp. 35-38.

<sup>98</sup> Finlay died at Athens on January 26, 1875. The date 1876 given in the revised Oxford edition of his history is, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, an unaccountable mistake. Tozer's seven volume revised edition is entitled *A History of Greece from its conquest by the Romans to the present time B. C. 146 to A. D. 1864*. The inexact date of Finlay's death (January 26, 1876) is given in vol. I, p. xlix.

<sup>99</sup> Finlay, IV, 307, n. 1.



resemblance to the Iberian and Armenian monarchies. During two centuries and a half, it maintained a considerable degree of influence, based, however, rather on its commercial position and resources than on its political strength or its Greek civilization. Its existence exerted little influence on the fate or fortunes of Greece, and its conquest, in the year 1461, excited little sympathy."<sup>100</sup>

In his history of the Empire of Trebizond Finlay not only deals with its political affairs but also lays stress on its trade relations, its internal structure, and social and economic problems. In this respect he continues Fallmerayer's work. But we must remember that he did not thoroughly investigate or finally solve its social and economic problems. Indeed even today we have not sufficient material to do so. Most of Finlay's account of Trebizond's internal history was based upon general considerations and on analogies with recent historical events, often those of his own time.

The opening lines of his *History of the Empire of Trebizond* are not devoid of interest: "The Empire of Trebizond was the creation of accident. No necessity in the condition of the people called it into existence. The popular resources had undergone no development that demanded change; no increase had taken place in the wealth or knowledge of the inhabitants; nor did any sudden augmentation of national power impel them to assume an independent position and claim for their capital the rank of an imperial city. . . . The grandeur of the empire of Trebizond exists only in romance. Its government owed its permanence to its being nothing more than a continuation of a long-established order of civil polity, and to its making no attempt to effect any social revolution."<sup>101</sup>

I ask the reader's indulgence for a very long passage which concludes Finlay's *History of Trebizond*. By its light we understand why the very well-known British historian, E. A. Freeman, describes Finlay as "the solitary thinker, studying, musing, and recording the events of two thousand years in order to solve the problems which he saw at his own door."<sup>102</sup> The passage is imbued with deep pessimism as to the history of the Empire of Trebizond and is interesting because it ranks Finlay in the long line of historians who believe that history must teach and help us in better understanding of the political events and social problems of our own day. He wrote:

<sup>100</sup> Finlay, I, p. xix.

<sup>101</sup> Finlay, IV, 307-308. In the edition of 1851 of Finlay's *History of Greece and of the Empire of Trebizond* (Edinburgh and London) this passage is to be found on pp. 353-354. If I am not mistaken, the end of the passage quoted above is omitted in the edition of 1851.

<sup>102</sup> E. A. Freeman, *Historical Essays*, III (London, 1855), p. 243.

In concluding the history of this Greek state, we inquire in vain for any benefit that it conferred on the human race. It seems a mere eddy in the torrent of events that connects the past with the future. The tumultuous agitation of the stream did not purify a single drop of the waters of life. Yet the population enjoyed great advantages over most of the contemporary nations. The native race of Lazes was one of the handsomest, strongest, and bravest in the East. The Greek colonists, who dwelt in the maritime cities until they were children of the soil, have always ranked high in intellectual endowments. The country is one of the most fertile, beautiful, and salubrious on the face of the earth. The empire enjoyed a regular civil administration, and an admirable system of law. The religion was Christianity, and the priests boasted of the purity of their orthodoxy. But the results of all these advantages were small indeed. The brave Lazes were little better than serfs of a proud aristocracy. The Greeks were slaves of a corrupt court. The splendid language and rich literature which were their best inheritance were neglected. The scientific fabric of Roman administration and law was converted into an instrument of oppression. The population was degraded and despised alike by Italian merchants and Turkish warriors. Christianity itself was perverted into an ecclesiastical institution. The church, subject to that of Constantinople, had not even the merit of being national. Its mummery alone was popular. St. Eugenios, who seems to have been a creation of Colchian paganism as much as of Greek superstition, was the prominent figure in the Christianity of Trebizond. The greatest social defect that pervaded the population was the intense selfishness which is evident in every page of its history. For nine generations no Greek was found who manifested a love of liberty or a spirit of patriotism. The condition of society which produced the vicious education so disgracefully in its effects, must have arisen from a total want of those parochial and local institutions that bind the different classes of men together by ties of duty and benevolence, as well as of interest. No practical acquaintance with the duties of the individual citizen, in his everyday relations to the public, can ever be gained, unless he be trained to practise them by constant discipline. It is, doubtless, far more difficult to educate good rulers than good subjects; but even the latter is not an easy task. No laws can alone produce the feeling of self-respect; and where the sense of shame is wanting, the very best laws are useless. The education that produces susceptibility of conscience is more valuable than the highest cultivation of legislative, legal, and political talents. The most important, and in general the most neglected, part of national education, in all countries, has been the primary relations of the individual to the commonwealth. The endless divisions and intense egoism that arose out of the Hellenic system of autonomy, where every village was a sovereign state, disgusted the higher classes with the firmest basis of liberty and social prosperity. Despotism was considered the only protection against anarchy, and perhaps in the existing state of society it alone afforded the means of securing some degree of impartiality in the administration of justice. But despotism has ever been the great devourer of the wealth of the people. The despotism of the Athenian democrats devoured the wealth of the Free Greek cities and islands of the Aegean. The despots of the Roman empire annihilated the accumulated riches of all the countries from the Euphrates to the ocean. The empires of Byzantium and of Trebizond were mild modifications of Roman tyranny, on which weakness had imposed a respect for order and law that contended with the original instincts of the imperial government. But in the empire of Trebizond, from the earliest period

of its existence, the power of the Roman administration and the Roman law was weak, and it became constantly weaker, until at last both the government and the people were in danger of falling into a state of anarchy.<sup>103</sup>

This quotation is from the edition of 1877. In the edition of 1851 the following sentences replace the one beginning "But in the empire of Trebizond:" "Yet, with all the imperfections of its society, and all the faults of its government, it is probable that the two centuries and a half during which the empire of Trebizond existed, contributed to effect a beneficial change in the condition of the mass of the population over the East. That change, however, was developed in the general condition of mankind, and must be traced in a more enlarged view of society than falls within the scope of the History of Trebizond."<sup>104</sup> Finlay apparently became even more pessimistic about the Empire of Trebizond in later years than he was in 1851.

This lengthy passage is interesting because it emphasizes how Finlay, after having expressed his broad but negative estimate of the Empire of Trebizond, passes rather unexpectedly to general ideas of despotism, tyranny, and democracy, ideas which take him far from the Empire.

Finlay's *History of the Empire of Trebizond* is undoubtedly the best book on the subject written in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is a worthy counterpart to Fallmerayer's book, the greatest achievement in the field in the first half of the nineteenth century. But the point should be stressed that Fallmerayer not only wrote an excellent book; he laid the foundation for the scholarly history of Trebizond, and it was upon this foundation that Finlay erected his valuable work.

In 1865 a detailed résumé in French of Finlay's *History of the Empire of Trebizond* was printed in the *Revue Britannique*. The article, of seventy-six pages, appeared in three volumes of the *Revue* and was not signed.<sup>105</sup> At the end of the article the anonymous compiler gave in a French rendering the concluding passage of Finlay's book which we have given above in its original English.<sup>106</sup> This translation of the 1851 edition, as we have noted above, differs from the conclusion of the edition of 1877 revised by Tozer. In his

<sup>103</sup> Finlay, IV, 425-427. Cf. the preface, also of a general aspect, in Fallmerayer's *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), pp. iii-xii.

<sup>104</sup> Finlay, *The History of Greece and of the Empire of Trebizond 1204-1461* (Edinburgh and London, 1851), pp. 496-498.

<sup>105</sup> Anonymous, "L'Empire de Trébizonde," *Revue Britannique, Revue Internationale*, II (April, 1865), 281-308; III (May), 27-56; June, pp. 345-365.

<sup>106</sup> *Revue Britannique*, III (June, 1865), 363-365.

first edition Finlay was slightly more optimistic, though vague, than he was in Tozer's revised edition. Immediately after the appearance of this article in the *Revue Britannique* it was republished under the title 'Ἡ αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος in 1865-1866 in Modern Greek in a very little known Greek review, *Chrysallis* (Χρυσάλλis).<sup>107</sup> Neither the translator's name nor the volume of the *Revue Britannique* was given. At the end of the translation the following note was inserted: "We have taken this article from an abridged translation in the *Revue Britannique* of a remarkable work by Mr. Finlay entitled *La Grèce ou Trébizonde au moyen âge*."<sup>108</sup>

In 1854 a remarkable study came out written in Russian by A. Kunik, *The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond*. Although this study does not give a history of the Empire of Trebizond but deals only with the fact of its foundation, it is so important for our better understanding of the character of the Empire in general that I believe it cannot be omitted from this study.<sup>109</sup> Kunik corrected several errors connected with the foundation of the Empire in the works of his predecessors, Fallmerayer, Pfaffenhoffen, Finlay, and Medovikov (in Russian in 1849), and for the first time with striking acuteness and interesting evidence showed the extremely important role that Georgia and the Georgian Queen Thamar played in the foundation of the Empire. For the opening pages of the history of the Empire of Trebizond Kunik's illuminating study must always be regarded as a sound basis for further investigations. But this study, written in Russian, has unfortunately remained unknown to European scholars. In his comparatively recent monograph (1926) *Trebizond. The last Greek Empire*. W. Miller fails even to mention Kunik's study in his ample bibliography.

In 1870 a Greek book was published in Constantinople written by S. Ioannides (Σ. Ἰωαννίδης), *History and Statistics of Trebizond*.<sup>110</sup> The Greek author deals not only with the epoch of the Empire of

<sup>107</sup> The complete title of the review follows: Χρυσάλλis σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν ἐκδιδόμενον δις τοῦ μηνὸς ὑπὸ Θ. Νικολαΐδου Φιλαδελφείως καὶ Ντέκα Δ. Πασχαλίδου, III (1865), 697-703; IV (1866), 3-7, 36-42, 65-69, 73-77, 117-119, 127-130, 164-166, 247-251, 280-285. The first volume of Χρυσάλλis came out in 1863; this review had only four volumes (1863-1866). Since I was unable to get this review in Paris or in the United States of America I asked the renowned Greek Byzantologist Phaedon Coucoulès (Φαίδων Κουκουλές), Professor of the University of Athens, to give me the needed information. I tender here my warm thanks to him for his help.

<sup>108</sup> Χρυσάλλis, IV (1866), 285.

<sup>109</sup> A. Kunik, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Uchenyja Zapiski* of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, first and third sections, II (1854), 705-733.

<sup>110</sup> Σ. Ἰωαννίδης, *Ἱστορία καὶ στατιστικὴ Τραπεζοῦντος* (Constantinople, 1870).

Trebizond but also with the history and general conditions of the city under the Turkish regime down to his own time. The section of Joannides' book devoted to Mediaeval Trebizond is based on Fallmerayer's and Finlay's works; often he simply retells Fallmerayer's narrative; sometimes he changes it, not always successfully or accurately.<sup>111</sup> We must not forget that Ioannides' book was written and published in Turkey, where any unbiased study of the Christian Mediaeval Empire was impossible. As far as the Empire of Trebizond is concerned, Ioannides' book has no value; but it contains interesting data on Trebizond under the Sultans.

In 1877, as we have noted above, the Rev. H. F. Tozer published the seven volume revised edition of G. Finlay's *History of Greece*, in which the section on the history of the Empire of Trebizond had been particularly recast.

In the same year, 1877, a History of Trebizond was printed in Turkey written in Turkish by a certain Shakir Shefqet (in the year 1294 of the hegira).<sup>112</sup> I have not seen this book. But I have some idea of it through a Greek report published in 1916 in a Trapezuntine Greek review *Oi Κομνηνοί* founded by Chrysanthos, Metropolitan of Trebizond, during the last Great War in 1916, when Russian troops occupied Trebizond.<sup>113</sup> The author of the report was a Greek, *Ἰωάννης Σ. Βασιλείδης*. According to him, Shakir Shefqet was chiefly interested in the Turkish period, which he highly eulogized. The pre-Turkish epoch, that of the Empire of Trebizond, is treated very briefly and superficially, with many egregious blunders.<sup>114</sup>

In 1886 W. Fischer published in German a brief but very skillfully written survey of the history of Trebizond entitled *Trebizond and its Significance in History*.<sup>115</sup> The Empire of Trebizond occupies only sixteen pages (pp. 23-39) of the whole thirty-nine. Following Finlay's theory, which is now rejected by the majority of historians, Fischer holds the opinion that Alexius and David left Constantinople for Georgia not in 1185 but just before 1204. Fischer writes, "So much the more is it surprising that this Empire which at its very

<sup>111</sup> See for example A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Speculum*, XI (1936), p. 10 and n. 6.

<sup>112</sup> I am unable to find the name of Shakir Shefqet—in Turkish transliteration Sâkir Şefqet—in F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927).

<sup>113</sup> Twenty-nine numbers of the review *Oi Κομνηνοί* were published from May 29 (Old Style), 1916 to May 28, 1927. See W. Miller, *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), p. 134.

<sup>114</sup> *Oi Κομνηνοί*, 1916, no. 8 (115-116); no. 10 (165-167); no. 11 (184-187).

<sup>115</sup> W. Fischer, *Trapezunt und seine Bedeutung in der Geschichte*, *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Geschichte*, III (Stuttgart, 1886), 13-39.

birth, one may say, already contained the germ of death, lived for two and a half centuries.”<sup>116</sup> “With the fall of Trebizond the last bulwark of Greek culture in Asia Minor crumbled.”<sup>117</sup> Trebizond is known to occupy an exceptional place in mediaeval literature; no other city, even including Constantinople, has provoked so much enthusiastic praise from representatives of various nations as Trebizond. Three Greeks, Michael Psellus in the eleventh century,<sup>118</sup> Bessarion of Nicaea, born at Trebizond, and his contemporary John Eugenikos in the fifteenth; in the fourteenth century an Italian, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti;<sup>119</sup> at the beginning of the fifteenth century a Spaniard, Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo; at the end of the fourteenth century a German, a Bavarian soldier, Johannes Schiltberger, all paid tribute to Trebizond. Fischer finely remarks, “It would be a fruitful task to describe, from all these encomia, a picture of Trebizond and its neighborhood.”<sup>120</sup> Although Fischer’s survey is not an original study based on the author’s independent investigation, it may be recommended to any reader interested in grasping from a brief sketch the history and significance of Trebizond.

In 1898 in Odessa (Russia) a book came out in Modern Greek by T. E. Evangelides entitled *A History of Trebizond from most ancient times to our own day* (756 B. C.-1897 A. D.).<sup>121</sup> Out of 279 pages 137 are devoted to the history of the Empire of Trebizond (pp. 46-183). In the introduction which has special Greek pagination, there is a useful survey of preceding literature on the subject, especially in Modern Greek; Afzelius’ dissertation *De Imperio Trapezuntino* (1824) and Kunik’s basic study on the foundation of the Empire (1854) are not listed. The author makes an amazing error on the foundation of the Empire. He says that the first emperor of Trebizond, Alexius Comnenus, was “a son of Manuel Comnenus who reigned in Constantinople from 1143 to 1180 and grandson of Andronicus I (1183)”

<sup>116</sup> Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>117</sup> Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>118</sup> Fischer means here the passage praising the beauties of Trebizond inserted by Michael Psellus in his funeral oration in memory of the Patriarch John Xiphilinos, born at Trebizond. Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, IV (Paris, 1874), pp. 424-425.

<sup>119</sup> In this statement Fischer is not exact. Pegolotti writes neither panegyric nor description of Trebizond. He gives only some business information on Trebizond, especially on coins and measures. See Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica della mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1936), pp. 29, 31-32.

<sup>120</sup> Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 14. To Spanish travellers who visited Trebizond in the fifteenth century we may add Pero Tafur.

<sup>121</sup> T. Ευαγγελίδου *Ἱστορία τῆς Τραπεζούντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς* (756 π. χ.-1897). Ἐν Ὁδησσῷ, 1898, pp. 279.

and regards the queen of Georgia, Thamar, as "a daughter of this Andronicus and sister of Manuel, father of Alexius and David."<sup>122</sup> This is a total confusion. The Byzantine emperor Andronicus I (1182-1185) was indeed the grandfather of the first emperor of Trebizond, Alexius; but Manuel, Andronicus' son and Alexius' father, never was a Byzantine emperor; a prince of the Comneni family, he perished in the catastrophe of 1185. Thamar, of course, was neither Andronicus' daughter nor Manuel's sister.<sup>123</sup> Evangelides correctly dates the fall of Trebizond in the year 1461.<sup>124</sup> Generally speaking, in spite of some blunders, this book is conscientiously documented<sup>125</sup> and may be used by Greeks with greater benefit than another Greek book published in 1870 by S. Ioannides in Constantinople. I am not aware whether Evangelides' book, printed as it was in Odessa (Russia), has become well known among readers in Greece proper or in Turkey.

From 1898 when Evangelides' book appeared a break exists in interest in the Empire of Trebizond until the time of the Great War. The capture of Trebizond by Russian troops in 1916<sup>126</sup> reawakened this interest and in 1916 two attempts appeared to satisfy public curiosity, one in English, the other in Russian. We must not forget that both publications were written in a situation that made scholarly impartiality impossible, under the occupation of Trebizond by the Russians.

The author of a very brief English article of a popular nature entitled *Trebizond, a lost empire* is John T. Bramhall.<sup>127</sup> It is chiefly based on Finlay's book, mentioning also the names of Fallmerayer and Edwin Pears (*Destruction of the Greek Empire*). "If the empire of Trebizond," Bramhall writes, "was the creation of accident, as Dr. Finlay would have it, its history was, by another curious accident, made known to the world by the chance discovery by Professor Fallmerayer, the distinguished traveler and archeologist, of the Chronicle of Michael Panaretos in the remains of the library of Cardinal Bessarion at Venice. For prior to this discovery the history of this medieval empire was buried in the dust and ruins of the Dark Ages."<sup>128</sup> To show "how came the soldier and Bavarian liberal,

<sup>122</sup> Εὐαγγελίδης, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>123</sup> See A. Vasiliev, *loc. cit.*, p. 7. Prince Cyril Toumanoff, "On the relationship between the founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Thamar," *Speculum*, XV (1940), 299-312.

<sup>124</sup> Εὐαγγελίδης, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

<sup>125</sup> The author gives some information on Trapezuntine coins and seals as well (pp. 181-183).

<sup>126</sup> The Russians took Trebizond in 1916 and evacuated it in 1918.

<sup>127</sup> John T. Bramhall, "Trebizond, a lost empire," *Open Court*, XXX (Chicago, 1916), 329-334.

<sup>128</sup> Bramhall, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

Fallmerayer, to be interested in Venetian manuscripts," Bramhall gives a brief sketch of Fallmerayer's life.<sup>129</sup> "But the record that throws the strongest light upon the history of the lost empire of Trebizond is not the *Eugenikos* of Bessarion<sup>130</sup> nor the Chronicle of Panaretos, but a later discovered work of one Critobulus, who styles himself The Islander."<sup>131</sup> Following Finlay's opinion, Bramhall thinks that "when the Latin invaders were on the point of capturing Constantinople two young Greek princes, grandsons of the unspeakable tyrant Andronicus Comnenus, escaped to Trebizond—one of them, Alexis, being acclaimed emperor, took the high-sounding title of 'Grand Comnenus and Emperor of the Faithful Romans.'"<sup>132</sup> After describing the fall of Trebizond Bramhall elegiacally concludes, "And so ended the empire of Trebizond, famous for its wealth and the luxury that wealth engenders, and for the beauty of its women, whose princesses were sought as brides by the Byzantine emperors, by western nobles, and by Mahommedan (sic) sultans."<sup>133</sup> Bramhall erroneously calls Cardinal Bessarion patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>134</sup>

That Bramhall's article was compiled under the influence of the Russian occupation of Trebizond in 1916 is evident from its concluding passage. "The strategic advantages of Trebizond to the Russians cannot be great, although the moral advantage of the capture of this important commercial city which has been in the hands of the Turks for nearly five centuries, must be a notable one. . . . It may be that the fate of the Turkish empire, both in Europe and Asia, was sealed when the Russian army took the outposts of Erzerum and Trebizond, as indicated by Germany's peasant scholar, Fallmerayer, nearly a hundred years ago."<sup>135</sup>

I have dwelt at rather more length upon this article than its historical value merits for two reasons: first it is an interesting example of how external events sometimes unexpectedly arouse interest in almost unknown historical questions even at so great a distance from the scene as across the ocean in America is from Trebizond, and secondly the American review *Open Court* (Chicago) where the article appeared is neither well known nor accessible in Europe.

<sup>129</sup> Bramhall, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-330.

<sup>130</sup> Bramhall makes here an amusing blunder. *Eugenikos* was not the title of Bessarion's writing, but the name of the author of an *Encomium* of Trebizond, Bessarion's contemporary.

<sup>131</sup> As we know, Critobulus or Kritoboulos, an historian of the fifteenth century, gives a very fine summary of Trapezuntine history down to the fall of Trebizond. In the title of his *History* Critobulus is called *ὁ νησιώτης*—The Islander.

<sup>132</sup> Here the title of the Trapezuntine emperors is given in a distorted form.

<sup>133</sup> Bramhall, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.



The same military circumstances brought forth a booklet of fifty-four pages, *Trebizond: its sanctuaries and antiquities*, written in Russian by P. V. Bezobrazov and published in the same year, 1916.<sup>136</sup> The late author was a very fine scholar in Byzantine history and his contribution, though not an original study, represents with some omissions a reliable summary of what we knew about the history of the Trapezuntine Empire in 1916. The opening lines of Bezobrazov's pamphlet explain its origin." The eyes of all Europe are turned to Trebizond, which has been taken by our valiant troops. It was once an important commercial point linking East with West, Persia and India with Constantinople and through the latter with Paris. This city was the capital of the whole Empire and a cultural center, whence civilization spread all over the regions of the Caucasian peoples. For a long time Trebizond served as a bulwark against Turkish invasions. Perhaps it will regain its former significance, and its stronghold will become for Armenians a safeguard from Moslem violence. In any case Trebizond is for us of exceptional interest, and it is proper for us to become familiar with its history and its antiquities." The pamphlet contains eight chapters. The first (pp. 1-17) deals with the history of Trebizond, beginning with ancient times but concentrating chief attention on the Empire. Sharing Kunik's opinion that the two infants, Alexius and David, were taken away from Constantinople in 1185, Bezobrazov erroneously attributes to Fallmerayer the theory later advocated by Finlay that Alexius and David left Constantinople not in 1185 but shortly before 1204 (p. 4). In this section Bezobrazov used proof sheets of the third volume of Dmitrievski's *Typica*, which came out in 1917, and gave in a Russian translation the remarkable religious service in commemoration of the Trapezuntine patron Saint Eugenios (pp. 10-11). Bezobrazov places the fall of the Empire of Trebizond in the year 1462. The second chapter explains its commercial significance (pp. 17-21), and the third tells of the travellers who visited Trebizond from the beginning of the fifteenth century down to the year 1900 (pp. 21-24). To the list, of course, should be added the Spanish traveller, Pero Tafur, who visited Trebizond in 1438 and gave an interesting description of the city and his own meeting with the Emperor.<sup>137</sup> In the fourth chapter Bezobrazov describes the churches of St. Eugenios and of the "golden-

<sup>136</sup> P. V. Bezobrazov, *Trebizond: its sanctuaries and antiquities* (Petrograd, 1916), pp. 54.

<sup>137</sup> See A. Vasiliev, "Pero Tafur. A Spanish Traveler of the fifteenth century and his visit to Constantinople, Trebizond, and Italy," *Byzantion*, VII (1932), 75-122. Ch. Diehl, "Un voyageur espagnol à Constantinople," *Mélanges Glotz*, I (Paris, 1932), 319-327.

headed " Virgin (pp. 24-29) and in the fifth the famous Trapezuntine church of St. Sophia (pp. 29-44). The sixth chapter deals with the monastery of Soumela (Sumela), some thirty miles from the city (pp. 45-48). In the seventh chapter Bezobrazov discusses the types of Trapezuntine churches on the basis of the studies of the French historian and archaeologist G. Millet (pp. 48-52).<sup>138</sup> In the eighth brief last chapter the author gives some information on Trapezuntine coins,<sup>139</sup> seals, and manuscripts (pp. 52-54). The conclusion of this very interesting pamphlet is as follows. " At Trebizond no monuments have come down to us from the earlier Byzantine epoch equal in significance to St. Sophia of Tzargrad (Constantinople) or some Palestinian churches. Nevertheless the architecture of the time of the Great Comneni and the remains that have survived from the Trapezuntine Empire are very important and significant from an artistic standpoint. They present the last link in the history of Byzantine art, which has not yet been adequately studied. In the region which has been lately conquered, undoubtedly, measures will be taken for the preservation of Christian shrines; from the churches that have been turned to mosques, the crescent will be taken away, and archaeologists after removing the plaster in all probability will discover wall paintings hidden for centuries under Turkish lime " (p. 54). Bezobrazov's hopes were not destined to be realized. The Russian troops evacuated Trebizond in 1918 and the Turks reoccupied the city. " In spite of agitation in Western Europe on behalf of Pontic Hellenism, it has remained in their hands. In January, 1923, the new Turkish governor expelled the remnants of the Greek population, and Trebizond has ceased to be the eastern march of Hellenism." <sup>140</sup>

Bezobrazov's pamphlet is no doubt the best popular piece of writing on the destinies of Trebizond; but being compiled in Russian and published during the Great War, it has remained entirely unknown in Western Europe and America.

A book in Modern Greek by G. K. Skalières (Σκαλιέρης) entitled *The Empire of Trebizond* was published probably in 1921.<sup>141</sup> The book was published at Athens and is undated; but its introduction is signed by the author " At Athens, March 31, 1921." <sup>142</sup> The title of

<sup>138</sup> See G. Millet and D. T. Rice, *Byzantine painting at Trebizond* (London, 1936), pp. 182, with many excellent plates.

<sup>139</sup> I am surprised not to find among Bezobrazov's sources the fundamental work of O. Retowski, " Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt," *Numismatisches Sbornik*, I (Moscow, 1911), 113-302 (in German).

<sup>140</sup> See W. Miller, *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), p. 117.

<sup>141</sup> Γ. Κ. Σκαλιέρης, *Ἡ Αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Τραπεζούντος* (1204-1461). *Ἐν Ἀθήναις*, s. d.; pagination is puzzling, pp. α'-ς, 13-110 (pages 1-12 are lacking.)

<sup>142</sup> In *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XXIV (1924), 209, Skalières' book is listed as

the book is absolutely misleading. Out of 110 pages only four pages in the Appendix (pp. 82-85) are devoted to the history of the Empire of Trebizond, and they are based exclusively on Fallmerayer's work; so that as far as the history of the Trapezuntine Empire is concerned, Skalières' book has no value whatever. Indeed, he had no historical aim. His book, dedicated to the August and Christ-Loving King of the Hellenes Constantine XII and to the Most Pious Queen Sofia, is a political and patriotic pamphlet, inspired by hope for the liberation of Greek regions from the Turks. Most of the book deals with the chorography and geography of Armenia and Pontos, their ethnography, statistics, educational system, natural resources, and Greek settlements in the Caucasus and South Russia. All this information refers to the Turkish period. As I have noted above, the history of the Empire of Trebizond is treated on four pages only in the Appendix, which also deals with other subjects (pp. 79-100). In the Bibliography the name of Finlay is not mentioned. To the book is attached a useful map of Pontos.

Ten years had passed since Bramhall's and Bezobrazov's popular surveys had appeared. The Great War was over; Trebizond was again in the hands of the Turks. In 1926 an English scholar, whose name is very familiar to all those interested in later Byzantine history and the Latins in the Levant, William Miller, published a short but very fine and scholarly history of the Empire of Trebizond entitled *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926).<sup>143</sup> He succeeded in writing a book that satisfies both the scholar and the general reader. It consists of six chapters without introduction or preface; the latter is included in the opening passage of Chapter I, which runs as follows:

The mediaeval Empire of Trebizond is one the curiosities of history. It was born at the time of the Latin, and survived by eight years the Turkish conquest of Constantinople. At its death it was the last independent Greek state governed by Greeks, who were themselves descended from one of the great Imperial families of Byzantium. During the two and a half centuries of its existence it attained to a high degree of civilization; its princesses were sought in marriage for their beauty; its ports were frequented for their commerce. But its history presents considerable difficulties. The original authorities are mainly confined to a bald palace chronicle, occasional accounts in the later Byzantine historians, a few ecclesiastical charters and treatises, some valuable notebooks of travel, two or three poems, a few inscriptions, scanty refer-

being published in 1921. By oversight some historians attributed its publication to 1926. See A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 11, n. 3.

<sup>143</sup> The text of the history of Trebizond itself occupies 117 pages of a book of small size (pp. 7-124). Then follow (pp. 125-140) a list of emperors, a very good bibliography both of original authorities and documents and of modern works, and an index.

ences by Genoese historians, and some valuable Genoese documents. But when Fallmerayer, nearly a century ago, first rescued the Empire of Trebizond from oblivion, and even when Finlay's second edition was published half a century later, many of these sources had not been published. Of the two modern Greek histories, one is over fifty, the other nearly thirty, years old.<sup>144</sup>

Professor Krumbacher, almost a generation ago, wrote that the 'time had come for a new history of the Empire of Trebizond.'<sup>145</sup> The present book is an attempt to undertake such a task, as the result of an examination of all the available materials in various languages. At a time when the victorious Turks have once again destroyed the Hellenism of Pontos, it seems appropriate to recall the subjugation of its mediaeval progenitor" (pp. 7-8). Then follows a very brief history of Trebizond before the year 1204 (pp. 8-13). The second chapter is entitled *The Foundation of the Empire* (1204-1222) (pp. 14-19). Miller says that of the history of the two children, Alexius and David, between 1185 and the Latin conquest we know nothing (p. 14); in other words, he entirely ignores the question whether the two brothers were taken from Constantinople to the east just after the revolution of 1185 or just before the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204. On this point Kunik's penetrating study on the foundation of the Empire, which Miller evidently failed to know, would have been of great value to him. The third chapter (pp. 20-42) is entitled *The Prosperity of the Empire* (1222-1330). During this period the Emperor John II (1280-1297) changed his title to that of "Emperor and Autocrat of all the East, the Iberians, and the Transmarine Provinces." The fourth chapter (pp. 43-70), "The Civil Wars and the Religious Foundations (1330-1390)," draws a very sad picture of internal strife and altercations aggravated by some external complications. During this period the first conflict took place between the Trapezuntines and the Osmanli Turks, their future conquerors (p. 66). Chapters V (pp. 71-96), "The Decline of the Empire" (1390-1458), and VI (pp. 97-124), "The Fall of the Empire" (1458-1461), deal with the speedy political decline and the tragic moment of the fall of the Empire. The last chapter gives some information on Trebizond during the war of 1914-1918, and on post-

<sup>144</sup> Miller does not identify these two Greek historians. He means of course Ioannides, whose book was published in Constantinople in 1870, and Evangelides, whose book came out in Odessa (Russia) in 1898.

<sup>145</sup> Miller does not give a reference to this statement of Krumbacher. It is to be found in Krumbacher's *Review* of Papadopoulos-Kerameus' "Fontes Historiae Imperii Trapezuntini," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, VI (1897), 632: "When the other texts that Papadopoulos-Kerameus has piled up in his Trapezuntine bookcase have been published, then also the time will probably come to rewrite the history and geography of the Empire of Trebizond."

war Trebizond; "the fame of this strange Empire lingered on in Western fiction" (pp. 117-119). It also deals with the scanty literary output of the Empire and with the city of Trebizond in the fifteenth century (pp. 119-124). With a feeling of some melancholy we read the concluding words of Miller's book. "If the Empire of Trebizond did not produce the great soldiers and statesmen of Byzantium or even of Nicaea, if men of character were rare among its twenty-one sovereigns, it kept alive the torch of Hellenism in that far-off region of the Euxine for over two and a half centuries. Civil tumult, the curse of Greek communities in all ages, sapped its strength; the powerful landed and official aristocracy overshadowed the divided reigning house, and too often the heir's hand was against his father. But today, when the ancient Metropolitan Church has been destroyed by the new Mohammed and its pastor is an exile at Athens, men may look back with regret to the Empire of Trebizond" (pp. 123-124).

Miller's brief history of "The Last Greek Empire" is for the time being the best book on the subject, since, as I have pointed out above, it successfully contrives to interest both the scholar and the general reader.

In 1929 appeared the posthumous work of the eminent Russian byzantinist, F. Uspensky, who died in February, 1928, *Outlines of the History of the Empire of Trebizond* (Leningrad, 1929, pp. 162), with eleven pictures of various monuments in Trebizond appended to the end of the book. The publication of this book is closely connected with the events of the war of 1914-1918. When in April 1916 the Russian army occupied Trebizond and the vast adjoining region, Uspensky was entrusted with the registration and preservation of Trapezuntine archaeological monuments. He spent two summers at the head of an expedition at Trebizond, those of 1916 and 1917. The sudden evacuation of the region by Russian troops in 1918 broke off his work and prevented him from concluding his archaeological study of Trebizond. Beginning with the year 1916 and up to the publication of the book under consideration in 1929, Uspensky printed a number of preparatory studies, such as reports of his work at Trebizond, various sketches of the history of Trebizond, and a description and publication of Trapezuntine documents.<sup>146</sup> The book itself consists of a preface (pp. 1-3), whose essential points I have just summarized, ten chapters, three appendices and an index. In the first chapter (pp. 4-26) Uspensky deals with the topography of the city, and describes its plan and church monuments. The second chapter (pp. 26-43) treats of the question of the younger line of the Comneni

<sup>146</sup> See Uspensky, *Outlines of the History of the Empire of Trebizond*, p. 3, n. 1.

and the foundation of the empire at Trebizond by Alexius Comnenus. In the third chapter (pp. 43-59) Uspensky presents the reign of the second Trapezuntine emperor, Andronicus Gidon, and describes the dangerous position of the Empire between the Seljuq Turks and Mongols. The fourth chapter (pp. 60-71) tells the story of the emperors Manuel I and John II (1238-1280), and the fifth chapter (pp. 72-81) describes the critical period in the history of Trebizond, *i. e.* the close of the thirteenth and outset of the fourteenth century. In the sixth chapter (pp. 81-90) Uspensky turns to the internal conditions of the Empire; he discusses its administration and its military districts and emphasizes the increasing power of some semi-dependent princes, especially in the region of Chaldia. Interrupting for a while the history of the Empire, Uspensky in the seventh chapter (pp. 90-99) deals with the topography and significance of the very important frontier fortress and maritime harbor Limnia. The eighth chapter (pp. 99-113) is devoted to the very complicated and obscure question of the struggle in Trebizond between the Constantinopolitan and local parties and is entitled "Liquidation of the Parties Hostile to Constantinople." The ninth chapter, "The Emperors Alexius III (1349-1390) and Manuel III (1390-1417)." "Frontiers of the Empire at the close of the fourteenth century" (pp. 114-126), describes the important period of the gradual decline of the Trapezuntine Empire that led to the final catastrophe of the Hellenic world, and the tenth and last chapter, "The Last Great Comneni and the Fall of the Empire" (pp. 126-140), tells the tragic story of the conquest of the pitiful remnants of the Empire of Trebizond by Muhammed II in 1461. In the first appendix Uspensky describes and explains the inscription in the Church of John on the Rock beyond the city wall (pp. 140-149); he ascribes the inscription to the year 1210-1211 (p. 145). The second appendix deals with the "Bell-tower of the Church of Saint Sophia in Trebizond" (pp. 149-154), and the third with the Citadel (*Kremlin*) of Trebizond (pp. 154-158).

The history of the Empire of Trebizond has often been considered as a section of Byzantine history. Uspensky lays stress upon the significance in the history of Trebizond of local Lazic elements and the influence of Georgia from her capital Tiflis, which always supported Lazic tendencies; the emperors of Trebizond themselves sympathized with the Lazes. In addition, it should not be forgotten that the Hellenic element was in the minority in the Empire of Trebizond. The Constantinopolitan Empire of the Palaeologi taxed all its power to increase Hellenic tendencies in Trebizond and thus to annex Trebizond to Constantinople. But these attempts at an artificial and enforced Hellenization of the Empire of Trebizond encroached upon

local Lazic, Georgian, and Armenian traditions. On the other hand, the alliance with Constantinople was much less useful and less advantageous for Trebizond than the connections based on politics and intermarriages with neighboring Muhammedan princes, who became more and more powerful and more dangerous to the very existence of the declining Empire. At the same time Uspensky shows very well the ever-growing influence of local feudalizing elements, who refused to reckon with the imperial power and were almost independent rulers in their regions. There is no doubt that Uspensky's book makes an important step forward after Fallmerayer's and Finlay's studies. But it must be remembered that his work was posthumous and that, although he had corrected the proofs of his book, he might have made changes in it had he lived. In any case, although Uspensky's work is for the time being the latest history of the Empire of Trebizond, based on the author's personal study on the soil of Trebizond, it is not final; a new history of the Empire of Trebizond remains to be written.<sup>147</sup> It is a great pity that Uspensky's book, which dealt so fully with the geography of the country, lacks a map. In his work Uspensky uses W. Miller's *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* and in some places corrects it.<sup>148</sup>

Now I wish to show what we can find concerning the Empire of Trebizond in histories of the Byzantine Empire and in some works dealing with the Middle Ages in general. I shall begin with the eighteenth century.

In his *Considerations on the causes of the Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans* Montesquieu does not mention Trebizond. He fails even to tell the story of the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The last words of his last chapter (XXIII) run as follows: "Bajazet having subdued all the other sultans, the Turks would have then completed what they afterwards did under Mohammed II, if they had not themselves been on the verge of destruction at the hands of the Tartars. I have not the heart to speak of the calamities which followed. I will only say that, under the last emperors, the empire of the East, reduced to the suburbs of Constantinople, ended as does the Rhine—which is no more than a brook when it loses itself in the ocean."<sup>149</sup>

In his numberless and varied works Voltaire does not fail to

<sup>147</sup> See, for instance, a Greek review of Uspensky's book written by 'Ιεραξ and published in *Ἀρχαῖον Πόντον*, VI (ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1935), pp. 196-205. The review ends with the following words: "A scholarly history of Trebizond, the Empire of Trebizond, and all the Pontus has not yet been written" (p. 205).

<sup>148</sup> See, for example, pp. 121-122. Cf. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>149</sup> Montesquieu, *Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains*. I use the English translation by J. Baker (New York, 1882), p. 481.

mention the Empire of Trebizond, especially in his *Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations*. In Chapter LVII, "Crusades after Saladin," he writes: "There remained many princes of the imperial family of the Comneni, who did not lose their courage with the destruction of their empire. One of these, who also bore the name of Alexius, took refuge with a few vessels towards Colchis; and there, between the Black Sea and Mount Caucasus, erected a petty state, which was called the Empire of Trebizond; so much was the word empire abused."<sup>150</sup> Then in Chapter XCI of the same *Essay*, entitled *Constantinople taken by the Turks*, Voltaire says: "There were no less than three empires of the East, so called, when in reality there was but one. The city of Constantinople, which was in the hands of the Greeks, made the first empire of the East; Adrianople, refuge of the Lascarids,<sup>151</sup> taken by Amurath I in 1362, was regarded as the second empire; and a barbarous province of the ancient Colchis, called Trebizond, where the Comneni had retreated, was the third reputed empire."<sup>152</sup> It is worth noting that Voltaire's inquisitive mind embraced even such a remote and so little known region as the Empire of Trebizond.

In his famous work on *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* E. Gibbon several times refers to the Empire of Trebizond. But having at his disposal only the meager sources which Du Cange "had dug out,"<sup>153</sup> Gibbon of course could not be exact in all his statements; for example he writes vaguely, "The posterity of Andronicus, in the public confusion, usurped the sovereignty of Trebizond, so obscure in history and so famous in romance."<sup>154</sup> Then following Du Cange and dealing with the opening stages of the history of the Empire, Gibbon writes: "Another portion, distant and obscure, was possessed by the lineal heir of the Comneni, a son of the virtuous Manuel, a grandson of the tyrant Andronicus. His name was Alexius; and the epithet of great was applied perhaps to his stature, rather than to his exploits. By the indulgence of the Angeli, he was appointed governor or duke of Trebizond: his birth gave him ambition, the revolution independence; and without changing his title, he reigned in peace

<sup>150</sup> Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, chapter LVII "Croisades après Saladin." Oeuvres complètes. Nouvelle édition, vol. 11 (Paris, 1878), 462. In English translations this work of Voltaire is very often known as a section of "Ancient and Modern History."

<sup>151</sup> Here Voltaire errs: the refuge of the Lascarids was not Adrianople but Nicaea.

<sup>152</sup> Voltaire, *op. cit.*, chapter XCI "Constantinople prise par les Turcs." Oeuvres complètes, XII (Paris, 1878), 98.

<sup>153</sup> Gibbon, chapter LXI; ed. Bury, VI, 421, n. 25.

<sup>154</sup> Gibbon, chapter XLVIII; ed. Bury, V, 241.



from Sinope to the Phasis, along the coast of the Black Sea. His nameless son and successor is described as the vassal of the sultan, whom he served with two hundred lances; that Comnenian prince was no more than duke of Trebizond, and the title of Emperor was first assumed by the pride and envy of the grandson of Alexius."<sup>155</sup> Gibbon's statements based on Du Cange's text may now be rectified and completed. It is hardly to be believed that after seizing Trebizond Alexius, who belonged to the notable Comneni family, would have contented himself with the title of duke which the governors of Trebizond had once borne as mere representatives of the Constantinopolitan emperors. Nor would Alexius have recognized the imperial title of the Latin emperor, who in Alexius' eyes in 1204 was a usurper and intruder.<sup>156</sup> Gibbon gives the correct date of the fall of Trebizond, 1461.<sup>157</sup> We must not forget that Panaretos' *Chronicle* was not at his disposal.

In 1816 in his *Textbook of the History of the Middle Ages*, now of no value whatever, a German historian, F. Rühls, says some words on the history of the Empire of Trebizond. His information comes from Du Cange and the Spanish traveller Clavijo. Concerning the foundation of the Empire Rühls writes: "Alexius, son of Andronicus II was, in the time of the Latin conquests, under the name of *Dux*, the governor of the province Colchis or Trebizond, and established himself as an independent ruler."<sup>158</sup> Rühls erroneously calls Alexius the son of Andronicus instead of the grandson and names the latter Andronicus II. The rest of the passage Rühls took from Du Cange.<sup>159</sup> But Rühls' few lines on the Empire of Trebizond are one of the earliest examples of the mention of the Empire in a textbook on the general history of the Middle Ages.

In 1824-1836 a new twenty-one volume edition of Lebeau's French compilation *Histoire du Bas-Empire* came out, of which the first edition had been printed in 1757-1786. The new edition was revised and augmented by two orientalist, Saint-Martin, a specialist in Armenian, and Brosset, in Georgian history, both of whom added some valuable material on the history of the Empire of Trebizond. In several places, beginning with vol. XVII, Lebeau deals with the Empire of Trebizond. In Lebeau's original text we read that Alexius

<sup>155</sup> Gibbon, chapter LXI; ed. Bury, VI, 420-421.

<sup>156</sup> See A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 31.

<sup>157</sup> Gibbon, chapter LXVIII; ed. Bury, VII, 205.

<sup>158</sup> F. Rühls, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1816), pp. 131-132.

<sup>159</sup> See A. Vasiliev, *loc. cit.*, pp. 11-12; 31.

and David left for Pontus, where their grandfather had long lived; with the aid of the partisans of their family they established an independent state . . . "Such was the origin of the Empire of Trebizond which owing to the striking sound of its name has become more famous in the romantic tales of chivalry than have the exploits of its princes in history" . . . The Empire fell in 1461. The two founders were satisfied with the title of duke: John Comnenus, Alexius' great grandson, was the first who took the name of emperor.<sup>160</sup> As we see from this text, Lebeau fails to mention the participation of Georgia and Queen Thamar in the foundation of the Empire. Then, apparently following Du Cange, Lebeau believed that Alexius Comnenus ruled with the title of duke, not of emperor. The date of the fall of the Empire, 1461, is correct. But in note one, p. 255, Brosset mentions the Trapezuntine chronicle of Michael Panaretos, in Tafel's edition, and gives in a French translation its first chapter dealing with the foundation of the Empire. Thamar's participation is pointed out; but Brosset erroneously calls her a sister of Manuel, Alexius' father. Brosset also quotes Fallmerayer's book. On pp. 256-258 Lebeau describes David's war against the Lascaris. In volume XVIII (1835), Lebeau writes of Michael Palaeologus' discontent because John Comnenus of Trebizond, "prince of the Lazae," assumed the imperial title, and Lebeau tells how John Comnenus left Trebizond for Constantinople and there married Michael's daughter Eudocia.<sup>161</sup> In note one, pp. 279-281, Brosset gives in a French translation chapters II-V of Michael Panaretos' chronicle. In volume XIX (1835) Lebeau deals with the disputes between the Genoese and Trebizond at the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>162</sup> In note one, p. 86, a French translation of Panaretos' chapter VI is given. In volume XX (1836) many events are told in the history of the Empire of Trebizond that took place at the close of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century.<sup>163</sup> In addition to this volume, on pp. 482-509 Brosset gives a French translation of Panaretos' chronicle, ch. VII-LVI, in other words to its end. Brosset thus gives a complete French translation of Michael Panaretos' chronicle in his addition to Lebeau's work in XVII, 255, note, chapter I; XVIII, 279-281, note, ch. II-V; XIX, 86, note, ch. VI; and XX, 482-509, ch. VII-LVI. In volume XXI (1836) we have the story of the fall of the Empire in 1461, and the fatal destiny of its last emperor and his family.<sup>164</sup>

A Greek scholar and professor at the University of Athens, K.

<sup>160</sup> Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, ed. Saint-Martin and Brosset, XVII (Paris, 1834), 254-255.

<sup>161</sup> Lebeau, XVIII, 279-283.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 85-87.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 123-127 and 462-465.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 371-376.

Paparrigopoulo, pays little attention to the Empire of Trebizond in his bulky five volume *History of the Greek People from the Most Ancient Times to Recent Years*.<sup>165</sup> Paparrigopoulo says a few words on the foundation of the Empire by Alexius Comnenus and correctly links this fact with the activities and interests of the queen of Georgia, Thamar, Alexius' aunt; <sup>166</sup> then he deals with the territorial limits of the Empire,<sup>167</sup> its rivalry with the Empire of Nicaea,<sup>168</sup> and finally the fall of Trebizond, correctly placed in 1461.<sup>169</sup>

Paparrigopoulo's contemporary, the German historian Karl Hopf, in his extremely valuable two volume work *History of Greece from the Beginning of the Middle Ages down to Recent Times*,<sup>170</sup> in several places deals with the opening pages of the Empire of Trebizond. I believe Hopf to be the only writer who, especially not aiming to write a history of the Empire of Trebizond, is well acquainted with the sources and literature on the question. He refers not only to Fallmerayer, Finlay, and Brosset, but even to Kunik's Russian study which I have mentioned above.<sup>171</sup> Hopf mentions previous "apocryphal" writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, those of Metaxopoulos, Miniati, and Hénin, which I have discussed above and which according to Hopf are pure charlatanism and nonsense.<sup>172</sup> Giving a brief picture of the foundation of the Empire with Thamar's powerful aid, Hopf tells the story of David, brother of the first Trapezuntine emperor, Alexius. He positively states that the two brothers were safely taken away from Constantinople to Colchis immediately after their father's violent death in 1185.<sup>173</sup> Hopf even mentions the relations of Trebizond to the peninsula of the Crimea.<sup>174</sup> But in the later parts of his book, concentrating all his attention on the Latin possessions on the territory of the former Byzantine

<sup>165</sup> K. Παπαρρηγοπούλου *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων* (Athens, 1860-1877). This work has had several editions; the most recent edition by P. Karolides (Π. Καρολίδης) with the latter's notes and additions came out at Athens in 1925. I use Karolides' edition.

<sup>166</sup> IV (2), 203. Karolides inserts here (pp. 204-206) a lengthy note on Thamar and her significance in the foundation of the Empire.

<sup>167</sup> V (1), 16.

<sup>168</sup> V (1), 22; 44.

<sup>169</sup> V (2), 74-75.

<sup>170</sup> K. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginne des Mittelalters bis auf die neuere Zeit* (Leipzig, 1867-1868). Unfortunately the work of Hopf was published in a German encyclopaedia, Ersch-Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, vols. LXXXV and LXXXVI, which has had a very limited circulation.

<sup>171</sup> Hopf, I, 210, n. 24.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> Hopf, I, 209-210; 220.

<sup>174</sup> Hopf, I, 211.

Empire, both on the continent and in the Archipelago, Hopf entirely dismisses the Empire of Trebizond. Once in connection with the history of Lesbos in the second half of the fifteenth century, he mentions the widow of Alexander of Trebizond,<sup>175</sup> the exiled brother of the two last Trapezuntine emperors, John IV and David. Hopf even ignores the fact of the fall of the Empire of Trebizond.

Hopf's history was not accessible to a wide reading public. Later in 1877 and 1883 G. F. Hertzberg based on Hopf's work two more readable surveys of medieval Greek or Byzantine history, which have several references to the history of the Empire of Trebizond. His works are: *A History of Greece from the end of Antiquity to the Present Time* and *History of the Byzantines and of the Ottoman Empire to the End of the Sixteenth Century*.<sup>176</sup> In the *History of Greece* Hertzberg, writing of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond, contrary to Hopf's opinion, is inclined to believe that Alexius and David fled from Constantinople during the war of the crusaders against Alexius III and his successors, in other words just before 1204.<sup>177</sup> Like Hopf, Hertzberg mentions the Greeks of the Crimea and says that they took oath to Alexius as the emperor of the Romans in Trebizond. But, Hertzberg adds, "the new Emperor of the East had no desire whatever to get in touch with the Crusaders."<sup>178</sup> He narrates the same story in his second work.<sup>179</sup> Some other episodes from the history of the Empire of Trebizond can be found in Hertzberg's two books.<sup>180</sup>

In 1879 in Germany (Stuttgart) a most important book came out on the history of the Middle Ages, W. Heyd's *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter* (*A History of the Commerce of the Levant in the Middle Ages*). A few years later in 1885-1886 a new French

<sup>175</sup> Hopf, II, p. 153.

<sup>176</sup> G. F. Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands seit dem Absterben des antiken Lebens bis zur Gegenwart*. Zweiter Theil (1204-1470). Gotha, 1877; *Geschichte der Byzantiner und des osmanischen Reiches* (Berlin, 1883). The latter book came out in a Russian translation by P. V. Bezobrazov, with his important notes and appendices, under the title *History of Byzantium* (Moscow, 1896). In the Russian edition the history of the Ottoman Empire is omitted.

<sup>177</sup> Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, II, 14. Alexius III is Alexius III Angelus who reigned from 1195 to 1203. After his deposition his old blind brother Isaac II was reestablished upon the throne (1203-1204) with his son Alexius IV as his co-emperor (1203-1204). Both of them perished in 1204. After them their relative Alexius V Ducas Mourtzouphlos reigned a few months.

<sup>178</sup> Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, II, 14.

<sup>179</sup> Hertzberg, *Geschichte der Byzantiner*, p. 375; Russian translation, p. 365.

<sup>180</sup> See *Geschichte Griechenlands*, II, 583-584 (the fall of Trebizond). *Geschichte der Byzantiner*, pp. 467-468; 527-528; Russian translation, pp. 456; 519-520.

edition of this book in two volumes corrected and considerably enlarged by the author was published in Leipzig under the title *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*; the French translation was made by Furcy Raynaud. In 1923 the two volumes of 1886 were reprinted without change. I use here the French edition.

The author devotes much attention to the history of the Empire of Trebizond, especially to its commercial and economic significance, as an intermediary link between East and West. All his statements and considerations are based on careful study and profound knowledge of all available sources, so that all the pages which deal with the history of the Empire of Trebizond have very great value.

First there is an extremely interesting chapter *Trebizond considered as a vestibule to Central Asia* (II, 92-107), where, after mentioning the foundation of the Empire, the author gives a very colorful and reliable survey of the Genoese and Venetian penetration into Trebizond and their economic rivalry down to the middle of the fourteenth century, when the Empire begins to show signs of decadence. Some very interesting information on the same period concerning trade routes through Trebizond can be found also in the chapter "Persia" (pp. 119-131). In a long chapter, "The Colonies of the north coast of the Pontos" (pp. 156-215), one finds references to the dependence of certain regions in the Crimea on the Empire of Trebizond, (for instance, p. 157). The book contains a special chapter, "The End of the Empire of Trebizond" (pp. 360-365), in which the author tells its tragic story in the fifteenth century and closes with the fall of the Empire in 1461. "This overthrow struck a fatal blow to Italian commerce which disappeared for long from this market" (p. 365). In many other places one can discover indications concerning the topography, churches, fortresses, and especially the economic life and significance of the Empire. Though not a special work on the Empire of Trebizond, Heyd's book gives us more fresh material and better information on it than some books which deal specifically with the Empire.

In his *World History* L. Ranke writes, "In Trebizond the descendants of Andronicus Comnenus established an independent State which comprised, beyond ancient Colchis, the region along the Pontic coast to the Crimea and was culturally important, especially because from there a great trade route into the depths of the East was maintained and used."<sup>181</sup> Ranke's brief statement erroneously suggests that the whole of the eastern coast of the Black Sea belonged to the Empire of Trebizond.

<sup>181</sup> L. Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, VIII (Leipzig, 1887), 296.

In 1897 the German historian H. Gelzer published in the second edition of Krumbacher's *History of Byzantine Literature* an *Outline of Byzantine Imperial History*, in which he devoted a brief chapter to the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>182</sup> Gelzer rather admires the first period of the Empire. After stating that the young princes escaped from Constantinople in 1185 to take refuge at the court of the great Queen Tamar, Gelzer gives the following pictures of the opening pages of the Empire. "The reign of Alexius I," Gelzer says, "as efficient ruler and true prince in appearance, is the brilliant moment in the modest magnificence of Trebizond. Already at his death a certain decline had begun: feudalism with its conflicts failed to allow an organized state system to develop, and the struggle of both aristocratic parties, *scholarii* and *mesochaldae*, i. e. court aristocracy that had come with the Comneni on one side, and the local nobility long settled in the East on the other, undermined the Empire."<sup>183</sup> At the beginning of the fourteenth century, according to Gelzer, the Emperor Alexius II (1297-1330) was an outstanding ruler among the Comneni. Even at the end of that century Alexius III, who died in 1390, left to his son Manuel III a flourishing state.<sup>184</sup> Only beginning with the year 1417 does the history of the Great Comneni reveal the final decline of the old Comneni family which was steadily degenerating. Trebizond perished, after the Great Comneni for nearly three centuries had sustained Christianity and Greek culture in the far-off eastern corner of the Old Empire.<sup>185</sup>

The Greek scholar Sp. Lampros in his *History of Greece* gives us almost nothing of the Empire of Trebizond; it is a work intended primarily for a wide circle of readers.<sup>186</sup> He is inclined to believe that Andronicus' grandsons fled to Colchis "in the painful days of the Fourth Crusade."<sup>187</sup>

In 1910 Charles Diehl's concise history of the Byzantine Empire came out in Paris. Later this book had several reprints. In 1925 it was translated into English.<sup>188</sup> After two bare mentions of the founding of the Empire of Trebizond,<sup>189</sup> Diehl gives a brief special chapter

<sup>182</sup> H. Gelzer, *Abrisse der byzantinischen Kaisergeschichte* (Munich, 1897), pp. 1049-1051.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1049-1050.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1050.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1050-1051.

<sup>186</sup> Σπ. Λάμπρος, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, VI (Athens, 1902), 227-231 (Ἡ αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Τραπεζούντος).

<sup>187</sup> *Op. cit.*, VI, 228; see also p. 229 (on the Trapezuntine dependencies in the Crimea).

<sup>188</sup> Ch. Diehl, *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin*. In English, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, translated by George B. Ives (Princeton, 1925).

<sup>189</sup> French, pp. 173-174 and 189; English, pp. 139 and 151.

entitled *The Greek Empire of Trebizond*.<sup>190</sup> This brief two page outline of its history down to its fall in 1461 is, as might be expected, excellently written. Pointing out the political weakness of the Empire, Diehl says: "Nonetheless, thanks to the Empire of Trebizond, there still remained at the head of the Pontus Euxinus, a reflection of the glories of Byzantium; and for two and one half centuries Greek nationalism found a refuge there" . . . (After the fall of the Empire) "this was the end of the last Greek state in the Orient."<sup>191</sup> In his admirable book *Byzance. Grandeur et décadence* (Paris, 1928) Diehl almost entirely omits the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>192</sup>

In an Italian book compiled by N. Turchi with the title *Byzantine Civilization*, which was published in 1915, the Empire of Trebizond is not considered. The names of two eminent Trapezuntine "humanists" and writers are given, however, George of Trebizond, as he was called from his parents' original home, although he was born in Crete, and Cardinal Bessarion.<sup>193</sup>

In his *History of Greek Public Finances* published in 1918 in Modern Greek, the famous Greek historian and economist, A. M. Andreades,<sup>194</sup> included a part entitled "Public Finances of the Byzantines."<sup>195</sup> This contains a section on general Byzantine bibliography (pp. 361-403), where in a note Andreades writes, "Perhaps it is also necessary to study the financial and social history of the Empire of Trebizond." After that he gives a bibliography of the subject from Fallmerayer's work to Lampros' edition of the Chronicle of Michael Panaretos in 1907. This is all.<sup>196</sup> It is a great pity that Andreades, who devoted much space in his book to the internal history of Byzantium, entirely omitted the Empire of Trebizond.

The fourth volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, which came out in 1923, is entitled *The Eastern Roman Empire (717-1453)* and in addition to the history of that Empire, contains several chapters on neighboring countries, such as Armenia (ch. VI), Northern neighbors and the conversion of the Slavs (ch. VII), the First Bul-

<sup>190</sup> French, pp. 217-219; English, pp. 173-175.

<sup>191</sup> French, pp. 218-219; English, pp. 174-175.

<sup>192</sup> See bare mentions of Trebizond, for instance, on pp. 219, 237, 238.

<sup>193</sup> Nicola Turchi, *La Civiltà Bizantina* (Torino, 1915), pp. 6 and 161.

<sup>194</sup> 'Ανδρέου Μιχ. 'Ανδρεάδου 'Ιστορία τῆς ἐλληνικῆς δημοσίας οἰκονομίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἡρωϊκῶν χρόνων μέχρι τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Βασιλείου. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1918.

<sup>195</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 337-624.

<sup>196</sup> This note is not even mentioned in a very detailed presentation of Andreades' bibliography in the excellent volume dedicated to Andreades' memory soon after his death in 1935. A. J. Sbarounis, *André M. Andréadès fondateur de la science des finances en Grèce* (Paris, 1936). The bibliography of the note on the Empire of Trebizond should have been given on p. 146.

garian Empire (ch. VIII), Muslim civilization during the Abbasid period and the Seljuqs (ch. X), Venice (ch. XIII), the Balkan States: I. The Zenith of Bulgaria and Serbia (1186-1355) and II. The Turkish Conquest (1355-1483) in ch. XVII-XVIII, and the Mongols (ch. XX). There is no special chapter or section devoted to the Empire of Trebizond; but information on its history is to be found in different chapters of the book without continuity and with some repetitions, since different chapters were compiled by different scholars. A few words on the foundation of the Trapezuntine Empire and its first conflicts with the Empire of Nicaea are to be found on pp. 423-425; almost the same material is repeated on pp. 479-480. Here we read, "At Trebizond, in the same month in which Constantinople fell, young Alexius, grandson of Andronicus I established himself with the aid of a Georgian contingent, provided by the care of his paternal aunt Thamar" (p. 479). On p. 482 is a mention of David Comnenus' failure in his war on Theodore Lascaris. On pp. 486-487 we read that the Greeks of Trebizond declined to acknowledge the authority of the Patriarch of Nicaea and that after the death of the first Emperor of Trebizond his Empire was very small in territory but his capital was deemed impregnable. On pp. 514-516 is briefly told the history of Trebizond under its first three emperors, Alexius I, Andronicus Gidon, and Manuel I, who died in 1263. On p. 516 referring to the thirteenth century is the following debatable remark: "Nicaea and Trebizond have, however, apart from aught else, a permanent lesson for the historian and the politician; they teach us the extraordinary vitality of the Hellenic race even in its darkest hour." The author of this chapter is William Miller, destined to write the history of Trebizond. On pp. 656, 665, 674-675, and 690 are indicated the evergrowing successes of the Ottoman Turks against Trebizond down to the year 1433, when a Turkish fleet ravaged the coasts of Trebizond. On p. 770 we have a statement by Charles Diehl that in my opinion should be modified. He says, "Trebizond . . . was from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century to be the capital of a powerful state." The epithet "powerful" scarcely fits the weak Empire of Trebizond. It might be pointed out that the fact of the fall of the Empire of Trebizond in 1461 is not mentioned in this volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History*. In volume VII of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (1932) in chapter one, "Italy in the time of Dante," there are only two brief statements referring to the Empire of Trebizond; on p. 27 we read, "The Genoese controlled Trebizond," (in the thirteenth century), and on p. 48, "The city of Trebizond granted (Venice) access to trade with Persia." That is all. In volume VIII (1936), entitled *The Close of the Middle Ages*, Trebizond is not mentioned.



In conclusion, I must state once more that the extremely important fact of the fall of the Empire of Trebizond does not appear either in volume IV or in any other volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History*.

In 1928 the Greek magazine *Ἀρχαῖον Πόντον* published a popular article, "Pontos through the Ages," compiled by A. A. Papadopoulos.<sup>197</sup> The author deals briefly with the question of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond and gives a brief sketch of its history.<sup>198</sup> According to him, Alexis Comnenus with a few followers took Trebizond, whose duke Nicephorus Palaeologus made no resistance but supported Alexius; the people, seeing great political changes all over the Byzantine Empire and fearing new dangers from the Franks and Turks, welcomed Alexius as a legal heir of the Byzantine Empire, because he bore the august name of the Comneni. In his sketch Papadopoulos presents in a very brief form the most important events in the history of the Empire of Trebizond. This article is of little interest for our purpose but would be of use for Greek readers.

My two volume *History of the Byzantine Empire* contains no special chapter on the history of the Empire of Trebizond either in its original English edition published in 1928-1929 at Madison, Wisconsin, or in its French revised and augmented edition printed in 1932 in Paris. I wrote, (After the taking of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204) "the third Greek centre, the Empire of Trebizond, lay too far away to be able to play the leading part in the process of the unification of the Greeks; therefore the history of Trebizond has its own special interest, political as well as cultural and economic, and deserves a particular investigation of its own" (II, 188; French, II, 177). But although I gave no special outline of the history of the Empire, I dealt in several places with the important moments of its history and emphasized some traits overlooked by other writers on the history of Byzantium. I pointed out the Mongol danger in the thirteenth century when the emperor of Trebizond was forced to make a speedy peace with the Mongols and became a Mongol vassal (II, 219; French, II, 207). I noted that, after the restoration of the Byzantine Empire by Michael Palaeologus in 1261, the Empire of Trebizond not only continued to live a separate and independent life, but also possessed Byzantine territory in the Crimea, namely the theme of Cherson (Korsun) with the adjacent country frequently referred to as "the Gothic Klimata," which paid tribute to the emperor of Trebizond (II, 265; French, II, 254). I mentioned that Andreas Palaeologus, a nephew of the last Byzantine emperor, transmitted his

<sup>197</sup> Παπαδοπούλου, Α. Α. *Ὁ Πόντος διὰ τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀρχαῖον Πόντου*, I (1928), 7-46.

<sup>198</sup> *Op. cit.*, 13-19.

ephemeral rights to the Empires of Constantinople and Trebizond to the King of France, Charles VIII (II, 277; French, II, 266); and that in 1461 Trebizond passed into the hands of the Turks (II, 357-358; French, II, 347). I indicated the importance of the Acts of the monastery of Vazelon near Trebizond, recently published (in 1927), for the history of peasant and monastery land ownership in the Empire of Trebizond (II, 388; French, II, 378). I mentioned the visit to Trebizond of a Spanish traveller of the fifteenth century, Pero Tafur (II, 390; French, II, 379). I feel that it would be very useful now to insert in the book a brief special chapter on the history of the Empire of Trebizond.

In 1929 an interesting book came out in London, *The Byzantine Achievement. An Historical Perspective A. D. 330-1453*, written by Robert Byron, whose name up to then was entirely unknown in the field of Byzantine studies. The author frankly admits in the introductory note, "The present volume is in no sense one of research among original sources." Byron mentions the Empire of Trebizond several times. "At Trebizond, also now an Empire, supporting the rule of a grandson of Andronicus I Comnenus, from Heraclea to the Caucasus" (p. 104). On p. 111 he correctly says that "the Empire of Trebizond was reduced in 1461." "After the Latin conquest the mantle of scientific and mathematical learning fell to Trebizond, whither voyaged students in search of it from every part of the Levant" (p. 206). As to the *labarum* of Constantine . . . "the eagle inherited from Rome descended to the last Christian Emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond" (p. 241). Pages 301-303 are exclusively devoted to the Empire. "Meanwhile, at Trebizond, on the south coast of the Black Sea, a last offshoot of the vanished monarchy was represented by the Grand Comnenus, King and Emperor of all the East, whose eagles were now the rallying point of Greek disaffection. . . . The extent of their dominion, which had reached even Georgia and the Crimea, was ordinarily some 7000 square miles contained in a narrow strip along the shore. And their capital, since the destruction of Bagdad by Hulagu, had been famed for its mart of wares from the further East. Venetians and Genoese, as at Constantinople, had their outposts there; and many travellers have left passing impressions of the place" (pp. 301-302). Among travellers the author mentions neither Spanish nor Italian nor German visitors to Trebizond, all of whom are well known to us; but, an Englishman himself, he mentions two Englishmen who visited Trebizond. He writes: "An English embassy of 1293 wore its shoes to ruin on the cobbled streets. Another Englishman, in the time of Richard II, describes the royal palace; its marble audience chamber in the form

of a pyramid; its frescoed banquet hall; and its library of scientific and historical works. To the city's continued prosperity in the fifteenth century, the writings of Bessarion, the Trapezuntine Cardinal, are witness" (p. 302). Byron probably took his information on the English embassy of 1292-1293 from W. Miller's book, *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire* (p. 31),<sup>199</sup> which he mentions in his bibliography (p. 330). I was at first at a loss to define Byron's source for the Englishman who in the time of Richard II (1377-1399) visited and described Trebizond. Miller's book has no mention of such a visit. I finally identified the description, however, as nothing but an abridgment of the description of the imperial palace which is to be found in the well known *Encomium* of Trebizond by Bessarion of Nicaea.<sup>200</sup> It is quoted in W. Miller's book as follows: "a marble edifice, shaped like a pyramid, which served as an audience chamber, and beyond that the frescoed banquet hall. Thence on the left the visitor was conducted to the library, containing memoirs on anthropology and political history" (pp. 121-122). Miller correctly attributes the description to Bessarion,<sup>201</sup> and I am unable to make out why Byron assigns it instead to "another Englishman in the time of Richard II."

At the end of his account of the Empire of Trebizond, Byron says a few words on its two last emperors, John IV, whom he calls John VI, and David, and concludes his story with the fall of the Empire in 1461 and the tragic fate of David and his seven sons. "All vestiges of Greek independence had disappeared" (p. 303).

Several casual and scattered mentions of the Empire of Trebizond can be found in Steven Runciman's book *Byzantine Civilization*, published in London in 1933. Runciman correctly places the fall of the Empire in the year 1461 (p. 60).

In 1934 at Bucarest appeared three volumes in French of N. Iorga's *History of Byzantine Life. Empire and Civilization*.<sup>202</sup> For our

<sup>199</sup> The first connection between England and Trebizond occurred under King Edward I, who sent an embassy to Persia, which in 1293 passed through Trebizond and was headed by Geoffrey of Langley, afterwards "one of the household of the King's brother Edmund" (W. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 31). The original source for the visit of this embassy was published with an introduction by an Italian scholar, C. Desimoni, "I conti dell'ambasciata al Chan di Persia nel MCCXCII," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, XIII (Genoa, 1877-1884), 537-609.

<sup>200</sup> Βησσαρίωνος Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα . . . ὑπὸ Σπυρ. Π. Λάμπρου, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, XIII (1916), 189; separate edition, p. 47.

<sup>201</sup> See Bessarion's description of the palace also in Fallmerayer's *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), p. 309 (from the manuscript of Bessarion's *Encomium*).

<sup>202</sup> N. Iorga, *Historia de la vie byzantine. Empire et civilisation. D'après les sources*. Vol. I-III (Bucarest, 1934).

purpose the third volume, which covers the period from 1081 to 1453, contains a great deal of information on the Empire of Trebizond. Of course this information is scattered in various parts of the book. In 1907 in London Iorga published a little book in English, *The Byzantine Empire*, where he mentioned very briefly some episodes in the history of the Empire of Trebizond: how David and Alexius Comneni founded the Empire (p. 175) which Byzantine writers scornfully called the principality of Lazae (p. 193); how under the next to the last emperor, John IV, "a veritable monster," the Empire was on the brink of final catastrophe, which actually occurred under David in 1461 (p. 226). All these brief statements were incorporated by the author in his French work in 1934.

In volume two and at the beginning of volume three, there is some mention of Trebizond before the foundation of the Empire.<sup>203</sup> But beginning with page 104 of volume three we have much well known information on the Empire. In connection with the founding of the Empire Iorga mentions a princess of Georgia, but does not give her name, and states that Alexius Comnenus assumed the imperial title with a view to reconquering Constantinople (p. 104). Iorga writes, "In the old city of Constantinople, as in that nest of barbarians between the mountain and sea (*i. e.*, in Trebizond), one finds only a brilliant sovereign of fallen prestige but splendid exterior, monks ceaselessly disputing, and foreigners who exploit the wealth of the State and at the same time supply it fully with means of defense" (p. 157). Iorga gives in various places several names of Trapezuntine writers (pp. 218, 266, 270-271, 277). He devotes a relatively large amount of attention to the final page of the Empire of Trebizond and places its fall in the correct year, 1461 (pp. 289, 293-294). Iorga gives in his full notes a very useful bibliography of primary and secondary sources for the history of the Empire of Trebizond.

In 1940 came out two histories of the Byzantine Empire, one in German, the other in Russian. The German book, *A History of the Byzantine State*, is written by a very well-known Russian byzantinist, Georg Ostrogorski now living in Belgrad, Yugoslavia.<sup>204</sup> His work, covering the whole period of Byzantine history down to the fall of the empire in 1453, in several places deals with the Empire of Trebizond. He mentions the foundation of the Empire by Alexius and David Comneni, grandsons of Andronicus I, who escaped from Constanti-

<sup>203</sup> See II, 223, 239; III, 55, 70.

<sup>204</sup> Georg Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1940), pp. xx + 448. *Byzantinisches Handbuch im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft* herausgegeben von Walter Otto—München, Erster Teil, Zweiter Band.

nople just before and not after its conquest by the Latins in 1204, recognizes Queen Thamar's essential part in the founding of the Empire, and says a few words on the military activities of David west of Trebizond, which were checked by Theodore Lescaris of Nicaea.<sup>205</sup> Ostrogorsky tells of the successes of the Sultan of Iconium against Alexius Comnenus, who after losing Sinope was captured by the Sultan and then reinstated on the throne as his vassal. "The political as well as economic and social evolution of the Trapezuntine State presents, for its own sake, high historical interest. However, on the general Byzantine development this remote petty Empire has exerted no essential influence. It lived in seclusion its own life for two hundred and fifty years, remained untouched by the fight over Constantinople and by the restoration of the Byzantine Empire, and outlived the fall of Byzantium by many years."<sup>206</sup> In connection with the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century Ostrogorsky mentions the defeat of the Empire, after which the Emperor of Trebizond became a tributary vassal of the Tartars.<sup>207</sup> Finally he mentions the capture of Trebizond by Muhammed II in 1461 and concludes: "Together with the last piece of Greek land came under Turkish power."<sup>208</sup>

A Russian *History of Byzantium* has been written by M. V. Levchenko.<sup>209</sup> This book is the first attempt to give a sketch of Byzantine history from the Marxist point of view. The author twice mentions events referring to the Empire of Trebizond. In connection with the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, Levchenko writes, "Simultaneously (with the foundation of the Empire of Nicaea) was created the so-called Trapezuntine Empire. In 1204 the Georgian Queen Thamar aided her nephew Andronicus Comnenus, grandson of Andronicus, to found an independent possession on the sea coast from Phasis to Sinope, with a center in Trebizond. Andronicus' attempt to take possession of Bithynia ended in failure, but the dynasty that he founded ruled in Trebizond some three centuries."<sup>210</sup> In this passage, probably by oversight, the first emperor of Trebizond is erroneously called Andronicus instead of Alexius. At the end of the sketch Levchenko merely says, "In 1461 distant Trebizond, the capital of the independent Empire, passed into the hands of the Turks."<sup>211</sup>

These two recent publications of 1940 conclude the works that cover the whole course of Byzantine history. But some histories of the Byzantine Empire exist that do not comprise the whole course of

<sup>205</sup> Ostrogorsky, p. 303.

<sup>206</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 307.

<sup>209</sup> M. V. Levchenko, *Istoriya Vizantii. A brief sketch* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1940), pp. 263.

<sup>210</sup> Levchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 313-314.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 411.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 254.

its history and cease their narrative before 1204 when the Empire of Trebizond was set up. These books occasionally give a little information on Trebizond when the city still belonged to the Byzantine Empire, so that for our purpose they have no significance. To this group first belong the histories of the Byzantine Empire written by Russian scholars: J. A. Kulakovsky, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, three volumes, 1910-1913, coming down to the year 717; F. I. Uspensky, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, vol. I and II, 1, 1914-1927, ending with the iconoclastic epoch and the activities of the Slavonic apostles, Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius in the ninth century; S. P. Shestakov, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, sec. ed. 1915, embracing the period to the coronation of Charlemagne in 800; C. N. Uspensky, *Outlines in Byzantine History*, 1917, ending with the final restoration of icon worship in 843. In his beautifully written little book, *The Byzantine Empire* (London, 1926) Norman H. Baynes writes in the introduction, "For these or other reasons, in this little book the present writer has confined himself in the main to the period before the fall of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade" (p. 10), i. e. in 1204. In the book *Le Monde Oriental de 395 à 1081* (Paris, 1936), written by Charles Diehl and Georges Marçais, the history of the Byzantine Empire is dealt with only to the year 1081, i. e., the accession to the throne of the Comnenian dynasty and the beginning of the Crusades. According to the plan of the series in which this volume was published, the following volume was to contain a history of the Byzantine Empire up to its fall. The Empire of Trebizond will probably be considered in this. But this volume has not yet appeared. In 1939 the first volume of the *History of the Byzantine Empire* in Modern Greek by Constantine I. Amantos came out in Athens. But this volume covers the period from 395 to 867 only.<sup>212</sup> In the introductory chapter in section two, *Division of Byzantine History*, Amantos says that after the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, "the other Greek states, the Empire of Trebizond, the Despotate of Epirus and later, the Despotate of Mistra, are busy with their own enemies, have other aims, and are unable to fulfil or feel mutual obligation to help Byzantium."<sup>213</sup>

Studies on special questions connected with the Empire of Trebizond during recent years have been concentrated mostly on the fact of the foundation of the Empire. In 1936 I published in *Speculum* a study, *Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond*.<sup>214</sup> My end was to

<sup>212</sup> Κωνσταντίνου 'Ι. 'Αμάντου 'Ιστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους. Τόμος πρῶτος 395-867 Μ. Χ. ('Αθήναι, 1939), pp. xvi + 495.

<sup>213</sup> 'Αμάντος, p. 8.

<sup>214</sup> A. A. Vasiliev, "Foundation of the empire of Trebizond," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 3-37.

show what had been done in this respect in previous works and emphasize once more the essential significance of Georgia and her famous Queen Thamar in the foundation of the Empire. After outlining the general situation in the Near East after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, I discussed the Comneni and the Georgian Bagratids, especially the younger line of the Comneni family, which was destined to found the Empire. I told the story of the escape of Alexius and David from Constantinople, gave the characteristics of Thamar (Tamara), Queen of Georgia, discussed the sources on the foundation of the Empire, and tried to draw a picture of the foundation of the Empire based upon all available sources. Then passing beyond the chronological limits of its foundation I gave a sketch of the reign of the first emperor of Trebizond, Alexius, who died in 1222 and ended my study by discussing the question of the title of the emperors of Trebizond.

In his notice of this study a German scholar, Franz Dölger, correctly indicated my omission of the writings of Mesarites connected with the beginning of the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>215</sup> I rectified my omission in an article in *Speculum*, "Mesarites as a Source," in which I discussed Mesarites' writings as far as they related to the opening pages of the history of the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>216</sup> A Rumanian historian, N. Iorga, published a review of my study of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond, denying Thamar's essential part in its foundation. He writes, "The proof that M. Vasiliev was on the wrong track when attributing to the Georgian Thamar a role that she had not and that she could not have played, is found in the fact, which has been recognized by Vasiliev himself, that the two brothers have no connection with Georgia, which on the contrary appears later as a rival and even enemy."<sup>217</sup> Of course on this point I entirely disagree with Iorga. The Trapezuntine *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos clearly asserts that the two brothers, Alexius and David, were brought from Constantinople to Georgia "to their paternal aunt Thamar"; and the same writer notes that Alexius Comnenus "marching from Iberia supported by the zeal and efficient help of his paternal aunt, Thamar, took possession of Trebizond."<sup>218</sup>

<sup>215</sup> F. Dölger, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXVI (1936), 223.

<sup>216</sup> A. A. Vasiliev, "Mesarites as a Source," *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 180-182.

<sup>217</sup> N. Iorga, "Une nouvelle théorie sur l'origine et le caractère de l'empire de Trébizonde," *Revue historique du sud-est européen*, XIII (1936), 172-176; the statement quoted on p. 175.

<sup>218</sup> Michael Panaretos, ed. Lampros, *Néos Ἑλληνομνημῶν*, IV (1907), 266. See Vasiliev, "Foundation," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 9 and 15-16. G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1940), p. 303, n. 3.

Very recently in 1940 a very interesting article came out in *Speculum* written by a young Russian-Georgian scholar, Prince Cyril Toumanoff, *On the Relationship between the Founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Thamar*.<sup>219</sup> The author knows the Georgian language, so that Georgian sources which are very important on the foundation of the Empire, are accessible to him in the vernacular. On the basis of his new and very plausible interpretation of these sources Toumanoff has come to the conclusion that the first wife of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus I Comnenus (1182-1185), grand father of the first Trapezuntine emperor Alexius and his brother David, was a sister of the King of Georgia, George III, Thamar's brother.<sup>220</sup> In other words, Toumanoff has established a new link between the Byzantine Comneni and the Georgian Bagratids and has satisfactorily explained Michael Panaretos' rather hazy description of Thamar as "the paternal aunt of Alexius and David."

In all important Encyclopedias there are articles on Trebizond of various value depending on their authors. I mention here several of the most important. In French, *La Grande Encyclopédie* contains an article *Trébizonde* (XXI, 335-336); the history of Trebizond before the Empire is sketched by R. Dussaud, and *The Greek Empire of Trebizond* has been compiled by Ch. Diehl. Diehl's name is a guarantee that the article, though very brief, is reliable. Queen Thamar is called merely "the aunt" of the two young princes. The Empire, it is emphasized, during more than three centuries maintained some remnants of Christianity and of Byzantine civilization in those far-off regions of the Black Sea. The bibliography refers to Fallmerayer, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, and Fisher. Surprisingly Finlay is not mentioned.

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* contains a very brief anonymous article (14th edition, XXII [1930], 444). After mentioning the economic importance and geographic situation of Trebizond, the article says that the Grand Comneni were patrons of art and learning, and gives a little information on the political history of the Empire. The bibliography is out of date.

The *Catholic Encyclopedia* (XV, 28-29) has an article *Trebizond* signed by S. Vailhé. The author stresses Christianity in the region of Trebizond, briefly sketches its history, and assigns the fall of the Empire of Trebizond to the year 1462 (instead of the correct 1461). The bibliography begins with Gainsford's book published in 1616, which, as we have seen above, is quite unhistorical.

In the *Great Hellenic Encyclopedia* (Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλο-

<sup>219</sup> *Speculum*, XV (1940), 299-312.

<sup>220</sup> Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 310.



παίδεια) there is a rather superficial article compiled by A. A. Papadopoulos (XXIII [Athens, 1933], 262-266). At the end of the article is a very incomplete bibliography containing books written in Modern Greek only, with one exception: F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* (vol. II, Brussels, 1906). Papadopoulos fails to mention Fallmerayer, Finlay, W. Miller, or Uspensky.

The article *Trebisonda* in the Spanish *Enciclopedia Universal ilustrada europeo-americana* (LXIV, 6-10) is of special interest in modern times, as it deals with the general topography of the region as it existed in 1914. There are only a few words on the history of Trebizond. Some of the information is incorrect, e. g., this statement: "The Empire was founded in 1185 by David and Alexius Comnenus, who had escaped from the Latins, the masters of Constantinople," and the date of the fall of the Empire as 1462. The bibliography is poorly presented; Gainsford's book (London, 1616) should be omitted.

The *Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere et arti* contains an article *Trebisonda* (XXXIV [Rome, 1937], 245-246). The first section on the monuments in Trebizond is compiled by G. de Jerphanion, and the historical section by A. Pernice. The latter section is divided into three parts: ancient Trebizond, Byzantine Trebizond (V-XII centuries), and the Empire of Trebizond (1204-1461). This is a brief but clear and reliable account. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, it points out, Trebizond reached an extraordinary prosperity. At the end are a few words on Turkish Trebizond. In the bibliography the names of Fallmerayer, Evangelides, and W. Miller are given. Neither Finlay nor Uspensky is mentioned.

J. H. Kramers wrote an article *Tarabzun* for the *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (IV, 694-696). This article gives a brief but very reliable and clear presentation of the history of the Empire of Trebizond, especially in its relations to the Orient, the Turks, and Mongols. A good bibliography is added, including some Turkish works.

W. Ruge compiled a very accurate article *Trapezus* for Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie . . . Zweite Reihe*, VI (1937), 2214-2221. But in this article Ruge deals only with the ancient period of the history of Trebizond, including Justinian's epoch. Ruge writes, "Trebizond enjoyed a second flourishing period in the Middle Ages; but this is no place to speak of it" (col. 2219).

In 1934, in one of our local Wisconsin papers, the *Milwaukee Journal* (Sunday, November 25, 1934), I published a popular article on the Empire of Trebizond under the title *Trebizond, the Ancient Gateway to Asia*, in connection with my own studies on the subject. The editor of the *Milwaukee Journal* added to my title his own subtitle, "Where Xenophon's Retreat with the Ten Thousand Greeks was Checked, University of Wisconsin Professor Traces, in Forthcoming

Book, an Elusive Story of the Cultural and Economic Relations Between East and West." In the text of my article the editor inserted a minuscule map of the Near East, and the picture of the Sultan Muhammed II who in 1461 put an end to the Empire of Trebizond.

Perhaps no other land has left so deep an impress on medieval chivalrous literature, on *romans d'aventures*, as the Empire of Trebizond, whose founding was closely connected with the Fourth Crusade. During the crusades, especially in the thirteenth century, that Empire, situated very far east and very little known, ceased to be a reality and became a fairy land. When the French King Louis IX landed in 1253 at Sidon in Syria, envoys came to him there from a great sovereign of "Profound Greece" who was called "the Grand Comnenus and Lord of Trebizond."<sup>221</sup> Neither Louis IX nor many errant knights of that period had any exact idea what "Profound Greece" and her lord were. But at that time there were widespread many hazy accounts about the wonderful fertility of the Trapezuntine soil, the vigor of its men and beauty of its women, the countless wealth of its rulers. Sailors from Genoa and Venice and travellers who had visited that distant region on their return to Western Europe brought back the accounts of eye witnesses, not without imaginative coloring. They described gardens that were ever green, castles on wooded hills, whose towers and battlements were guarded by ghosts; the unsurpassable beauty of the women, the splendor of the Great-Comnenian palace.<sup>222</sup>

I have seen several rare editions of sixteenth century books which tell the deeds, battles, and heroic death of one of the very well known figures in the French medieval epic poems, *chansons de geste*, Renaut de Montauban, one of the four sons of Aimon de Dordone.<sup>223</sup> In the editions of the sixteenth century his name is given as Rinaldo di Montalbano, Regnault de Montauban, or simply Rinaldo. All these anonymous stories in verse deal with Trebizond, where, according to a Venetian edition of 1511, takes place "a very noble battle with the life and death of Rinaldo;"<sup>224</sup> the almost identical title is to be found in another Venetian edition of 1535, corrected and "brought to its entirety."<sup>225</sup> In a French edition in Paris, seemingly also published

<sup>221</sup> See Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. Wailly (Paris, 1882), ch. CXVI, p. 591: "li messaige à un grant signour de la parfonde Grece, liques se fesoit appeler le Grant Comnenie et signour de Trafentesi." See above, referring to Thomas Gainsford's book.

<sup>222</sup> See Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, p. 315.

<sup>223</sup> See E. Langlois, *Table des nom propres de toute nature compris dans les Chansons de Geste imprimées* (Paris, 1904), p. 550 (Renaut de Montauban); p. 14 (Aimon de Dordon).

<sup>224</sup> *Trabisonda historiata ne laquale si contiene nobilissima battaglia con la vita e morte de Rinaldo*, In Venetia, 1511.

<sup>225</sup> *Trabisonda nelaquale se tratta nobilissima battaglia: con la vita e morte*

in 1535, the title runs as follows: "There follows the conquest of the very powerful Empire of Trebizond and spacious Asia, where are comprised many battles both on sea and on land."<sup>226</sup> On the last page of this book we read, "The conquest of Trebizond made by Regnault de Montauban, son of the Duke Aymonte Dardaine. Recently printed in Paris."<sup>227</sup> These epic poems are of interest from the viewpoint of medieval literature but have no historical value whatever as to the Empire of Trebizond. I have already explained that Thomas Gainsford's collection of fantastic stories entitled *The Historie of Trebizond, in foure bookes* (London, 1616) has no historical significance.

Beginning with the sixteenth century the name of Trebizond or the Empire of Trebizond appears in many literary works that have no pretensions to historical accuracy.

In his immortal *Don Quixote* Cervantes (1547-1616) writes that "the poor hidalgo already saw himself by his arm's might crowned emperor of Trebizond at least."<sup>228</sup> In the sixteenth century the renowned French writer Rabelais in his satire *Gargantua* (ch. XXXIII) makes one of his imaginary characters Picrochole, King of Lerne, exclaim, "I want also to be Emperor of Trebizond."<sup>229</sup> In his other satire *Pantagruel* Rabelais writes, "I am going to tempt the students of Trebizond to leave their Fathers and Mothers, to renounce the ordinary life of a Citizen, to emancipate themselves from the Edicts of their King, to live in underground Liberty, to despise every one, to scoff at all the World, and taking the fine and jovial little Cap of poetic Innocence, to turn themselves into Gentlemen Hobgoblins."<sup>230</sup>

*di Rinaldo hystoriata: nuovamente corretta e alla sua integrità ridotta*, In Vineggia, 1535. No pagination; counted according to the files of sixteen pages, A, B, C, etc.

<sup>226</sup> "S'ensuyt la conqueste du tres puissant empire de Tresbisonde et de la spacieuse Asie, en laquelle sont comprinses plusieurs batailles tant par mer que par terre," Paris (1535 ?), with many wood cuts. No real pagination; 98 leaves; printed in two columns.

<sup>227</sup> "Cy fine ce present livre. La conqueste de Tresbisonde faicte par Regnault de Montauban fils du duc Aymonte Dardaine," "Nouvellement imprimé à Paris."

<sup>228</sup> Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, part I, ch. 1: "Imaginabase el pobre ya coronado por el valor de su brazo, por lo menos, del imperio de Trapisonda"; *The Visionary Gentleman Don Quijote de la Mancha*, transl. by Robinson Smith (New York, 1932), p. 15.

<sup>229</sup> "Je veulx estre aussi empereur de Trebizonde." Picrochole is a Greek word *πικρόχολος*, full of bitter bile, bilious, splenetic, irascible.

<sup>230</sup> Rabelais, *Les Oeuvres*, ed. Ch. Marty-Laveaux, II (Paris, 1870), 432 (*Pantagruel*, ch. 46). Some comments on this passage occur in *Oeuvres de Rabelais* (Paris, 1823), VI, 441. Rabelais, *The five books and minor writings*. A new translation by W. F. Smith (London, 1893), p. 195. "Little Cap"

In this rather obscure passage Rabelais uses the name of Trebizond for that of Paris, deriving the word from the Greek *τράπεζα* (table), and hinting at the gormandizing life of the monks. Rabelais does not refer to the Empire of Trebizond.

In the seventeenth century Milton mentions Trebizond in his *Paradise Lost* (book I, line 584); like Rabelais, he does not refer to the real Empire.

And all who since baptized or infidel,  
Jousted in Aspramont, or Montalban,  
584 Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebizond,  
Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore,  
When Charlemagne with all his peerage fell  
By Fontarabia.

This passage is connected with the legendary history of Charlemagne.

In 1641 at Venice appeared a romance entitled *Il Calloandro*. The real name of the author is Ambrogio Giovanni Marini. He was born at Genoa *ca.* 1594 and died at Venice *ca.* 1650. He was the first Italian writer who described in prose the customs and manners, dangers and adventures of chivalry; his romances were very popular and found many imitators. But the author assumed the cowl and therefore wrote his books under pseudonyms. The work of his in which we are interested is *Il Calloandro fedele* published in two parts; in one the author disguises himself under the name of Gio. Maria Indris Boemo; in the other under that of Dario Grisimani. For our purpose part one is the more interesting.<sup>231</sup> At the beginning of the romance during a violent tempest a young knight (*Cavaliere*) lands not far from Trebizond and reaches the gates of the city.<sup>232</sup> Then follows a story full of fantastic adventures and dangers. But, according to Fallmerayer, if we remove the cover of fantasy with which the author embellished his story, we discover an historical kernel that shows that the author was well acquainted with the nature of the region, the customs of its inhabitants and even with the internal situation of the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>233</sup>

In the second half of the eighteenth century, an Italian alchemist and imposter passed himself off, especially in France, as Count Cagliostro, and called himself son of the Grand Master of Malta, grandson of the Sherif of Mecca, and heir to the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>234</sup>

Very little was known concerning the history of the Empire of

translates "petit beguin," the word used by Rabelais to denote a monk's hood (transl. by Smith, p. 195). "Poetic innocence" means *licentia poetica*.

<sup>231</sup> *Il Calloandro di Gio. Maria Indris Boemo. Poema. Traslatato di Tedesco in Italiano da G. Bisii Romano, Venetia, 1641.* Fallmerayer (*Geschichte*, p. 314) used another edition of this romance published at Bassano, 1786.

<sup>232</sup> *Il Calloandro*, pp. 1 and 5.

<sup>233</sup> Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

<sup>234</sup> See, for instance, Thomas Carlyle, *Count Cagliostro*, in his *Miscellanies*,

Trebizond in the nineteenth century even among very well-educated people. For instance, Walter Scott implies that Trebizond was conquered by the Turks in the time of Richard Coeur-de-Lion, for in his novel *Ivanhoe* the Templar says to Rebecca, "Mount thee behind me on my gallant steed—on Zamor the gallant horse that never failed his rider. I won him in single fight from the Soldan of Trebizond."

In the poetic and dramatic literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Empire of Trebizond is mentioned several times. I shall give here some examples. In 1859 the French writer and managing editor of the *Bibliothèque Bleue*, Alfred Delvau, printed an article entitled *La princesse de Trébisonde*. This article is a fantastic story having no historical basis, presenting an old emperor and a beautiful princess of Trebizond; in it Trebizond itself means something beautiful, fantastic, and quaint, not a real city.<sup>235</sup> In 1870 a Greek writer, Triantaphyllides, wrote a drama in five acts, *Οἱ Φυγάδες* (*The Fugitives*), in which the author from historical sources and local Trapezuntine songs pictured the last fate of the Empire, its fall. The characters of the drama are partly historical or taken from the songs, partly fictitious. The interest of this very long drama (over two hundred pages) lies in its historical background, since it is not pure fiction.<sup>236</sup> In Gabriele d'Annunzio's drama *La Gloria* one character is Elena Comnena, Empress of Trebizond. The name is used effectively in several songs.

	E marcio il grano	(Grain is rotten,
	Ma l'oro abbonda	But gold abounds
Chorus	A Trebisonda!	In Trebizond.
	La moglie ha un trono	The woman has a throne
	Che non si sfonda	That stands firm
Chorus	A Trebisonda.	In Trebizond).

In 1909, a German, Philipp Langmann, published a drama in three acts, *The Princess of Trebizond*.<sup>237</sup> The action of the drama takes place in Trebizond in the year 1370. The play is a boring and wretched piece of work in which no account is taken of historical truth.<sup>238</sup>

III (London, 1858), 263 (*The Collected Works of Thomas Carlyle*, in sixteen volumes, vol. IV).

<sup>235</sup> *La princesse de Trébisonde. Bibliothèque Bleue*. Réimpression des romans de chevalerie des XII, XIII, XIV, XV et XVI siècles, sous la direction d'Alfred Delvau (Paris, 1859), p. 48.

<sup>236</sup> Π. Τριανταφυλλίδης, *Οἱ φυγάδες*. Δράμα ἐν μέρη πέντε μετὰ μακρῶν προλεγομένων περὶ Πόντου (Athens, 1870). The drama itself on pp. 3-229. The lengthy introduction has a special pagination, 1-175.

<sup>237</sup> Philipp Langmann, *Die Prinzessin von Trapezunt*. Drama in drei Akten (Munich und Leipzig, 1909).

<sup>238</sup> See, for instance, a review of this drama by Cyril Davidsohn, in *Βυζαντις*, II (Athens, 1911-1912), 257.

In 1912 Miss Camilla Lucerna published an interesting article in German, *The Last Empress of Trebizond in South-Slavonic poetry*.<sup>239</sup> In her article Miss Lucerna deals with the second wife of the last Trapezuntine emperor, David, Helene Cantacuzene, the most tragic figure in the history of the Empire. After David, seven of his sons, and his nephew Alexius had been beheaded by the Sultan's order, the widowed empress buried with her own hands the corpses of her husband and sons, to which the Sultan had refused interment. Miss Lucerna, after saying that the memory of that tragic heroine has been forgotten, writes that a similar type of woman is preserved in a Serbian epic poem. This poem belongs to the cycle of the songs of the battle of Kossovo, and is entitled *The Death of the Mother of Jugovica*. Miss Lucerna tries to show that the mother in this epic in fate and character duplicates the last Trapezuntine empress. After giving a brief sketch of the end of the Great Comneni of Trebizond and describing the tragic figure of Helene Cantacuzene, Miss Lucerna passes to the "ballad," *The Death of the Mother of Jugovica*. She studies the origin of the tradition, gives the text of the epic, emphasizes the character of the mother, and stresses its similarity with that of Helene Cantacuzene.

Some mention of Trebizond in fiction and poetry is given in W. Miller's *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire*, pp. 117-119; 136.

It is amusing to notice that the unreal fantastic Trebizond has left its trace not only in literature but also in music, not, I must admit, in serious music, but in light opera. Two French light operas (operettas) of the middle of the nineteenth century are entitled *La Princesse de Trébizonde*. One in one act and two scenes was composed by four Frenchmen otherwise unknown, Louis, Carlo, Thierry, and Nekerim. This operetta was performed in Paris at the Théâtre Lyrique on September 4, 1853. The other operetta with the same title, *La Princesse de Trébizonde*, was composed by the famous author of many very well known light operas, Jacques Offenbach. In French this light opera is "opéra-bouffe" in three acts, with words by Nuitter and Tréfeu and music by Jacques Offenbach; it was performed for the first time on December 7, 1869, also in Paris at the theater Bouffes-Parisiens.<sup>240</sup> It is a mere burlesque, and its plot has nothing to do with the city or Empire of Trebizond. These two light operas have not been performed in Paris for fifty or sixty years, so that I have never seen them.

<sup>239</sup> Camilla Lucerna. *Die letzte Kaiserin von Trapezunt in der südslavischen Dichtung* (Sarajevo, 1912). Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel, II. Quellen und Forschungen, herausgegeben von Dr. Carl Patsch, Heft 4, pp. 36.

<sup>240</sup> See F. Clement et P. Larousse. *Dictionnaire des opéras*. Revu et mis à jour par A. Pougin (Paris), pp. 902-903.

It is interesting to note that in Spanish there are several words whose origin is undoubtedly connected with the name of Trebizond. I give them according to El Diccionario de la Academia Española: *Trapisonda*, "quarrel, dispute, strife, dissension"; *Trapisondear* (verb), "to start frequent quarrels, disputes, strivings, dissensions"; *Trapisondista*, "a person who starts quarrels, disputes, strivings, dissensions."

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

In 1933 a fundamental work in Modern Greek came out entitled *The Church of Trebizond*, written by Chrysanthos, Metropolitan of Trebizond.<sup>1</sup> The book consists of 904 pages and is much greater in scope than its title indicates. The Church is so closely connected with the general history of Trebizond, political, economic, and cultural, that Chrysanthos' book furnishes us with a rich mine of information, based on ample evidence, on all aspects of Trapezuntine life. The author, starting from ancient times, gives a very clear geographic, topographic, and historical survey of the history of the Pontus. Of course the most important part of the book is that which expounds the religious and political significance of Trebizond under Byzantine domination; Chrysanthos stresses the importance of the elevation of Trebizond to the rank of metropolis of the theme of Chaldia at the end of the ninth century, and gives an excellent picture of the history of the Trapezuntine Church after 1204, when Trebizond became the capital of the Empire. I wish to give special mention here to a section on the topography of Trebizond and its famous shrine of Mithras, a *Mithraeum* (pp. 104-111),<sup>2</sup> and to a long chapter on "Spiritual Movement and Life" (*πνευματική κίνησις καὶ ζωή*, pp. 185-372), in which all eminent writers of and on Trebizond and their works are listed and discussed, for example Michael Panaretos, Andreas Libadenos, Bessarion, George of Trebizond, and others.<sup>3</sup> Chrysanthos calls Trebizond "the Acropolis of Orthodoxy" (p. 361). He devotes some attention to monuments of Christian art, churches and monasteries, and also to manuscripts. He includes a list brought up to date of Trapezuntine prelates of various ranks. The book covers also the period of Turkish domination after the fall of the Empire in 1461. We must not forget that Chrysanthos is well equipped for his task, since he spent many years in the region whose history he has so strenuously studied and whose life he has so thoughtfully observed.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Χρυσάνθου Μητροπολίτου Τραπεζούντος Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Τραπεζούντος, Ἀρχαῖον Πόντον, IV-V (Athens, 1933). A separate edition of this book is dated 1936. As has been indicated above, the author of the book is now Archbishop of Athens.

<sup>2</sup> My citations here refer to the 1936 edition of the book.

<sup>3</sup> On p. 326 an historian is named, Theonas (Θεωνᾶς), who probably never existed.

<sup>4</sup> See a very interesting polemic between Chrysanthos and S. Binon, *Byzantion*, XIII (1938), pp. 363-377.